

UNITE!



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MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Vol. I No. 1 August 1975

OUR LINE ON THE CENTRAL TASK BUILD THE VANGUARD COMMUNIST PARTY

The task of reconstituting a genuine vanguard party of the proletariat in the United States, and its mission in leading the proletariat and all exploited and oppressed peoples of this country in proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a task of "decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement," (Stalin, Speeches to the CPUSA). Moreover, it is our resolute obligation as Marxist-Leninists to realize that when a revolutionary crisis develops in America - as it surely will - it will herald the beginning of the end of worldwide capitalism as a whole, and an opening of a new era in the history of mankind.

For this reason, it is imperative that a party be built in the United States which is fully prepared, ideologically, theoretically, politically, and organizationally, of assuming the leadership of the impending crisis. There must be no limit to the sacrifice we are prepared to make in order to assure the readiness for that day. Our party must forge real revolutionary cadres and revolutionary leader-

ship, based upon Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-Tung Thought as our guide to action, capable of leading the millions of working people and their allies in the struggle to overthrow capital and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party is the organizer of all our victories, therefore it must be hardened in struggle, disciplined, centralized, and closely linked to the masses.

The Party is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class conscious, most active, and the most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and/or proletarian revolutionary action. It is a

revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out thanks to the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain unbreakable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves. (PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1928, Chapter 6, Part 2)

There has not been such a union of the class conscious advanced fighters for the emancipation of the working class for roughly thirty years, since the treacherous betrayal of the CPUSA to the hands of the bourgeoisie.

We say roughly thirty years, because a definitive study of the degeneration of the CPUSA has yet to be conducted by Marxist-Leninists. But one thing is clear, and that is that

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EDITORIAL

SMASH THE OLD - BUILD THE NEW

American communists today face a turning point.

On the one hand, this is a period of great revolutionary storms in the world. The struggles of the last seventy-five years have born the fruit of one of the greatest realignments of forces the world has ever known. Many of the historic predictions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse Tung have come true before our very eyes. In the last few months alone, with the just recognition of the PLO in the United Nations, the liberation of Vietnam and Cambodia, and the independence victories of Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola, we see the foundations of five hundred years of exploitation and oppression being turned into ashes.

The exploited and oppressed peoples of the capitalist and revisionist countries are advancing steadily on many fronts.

The workers of the capitalist countries are taking the field, particularly through strikes, against capital. Revolution is the main trend in the world today!

On the other hand, where there is revolution, there is counterrevolution. Although imperialism is moribund capitalism (in a dying state), it is not yet dead capitalism. The two great superpowers are pursuing a strategy (1) to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the Third World, (2) to extend and intensify the domination of the secondary capitalist powers, and (3) to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the workers.

Everywhere, we can see the bourgeoisie preparing for even greater battles ahead, in its doomed but desperate efforts to preserve the rotten hegemony of monopoly capitalism worldwide. Historically, all reactionary forces on the

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EDITORIAL

verge of extinction carry on a last desperate effort against revolution. It is the nature of every dying and decadent class to become every bit more ferocious as it sings its final swan song. Fascism and war are no idle threats, but a great danger to the people of the world.

In numerous capitalist countries the reformists and revisionists, working hand in hand with bourgeois reaction, maneuver for influence and control of the state apparatus. In Italy, the revisionist Communist Party of Italy equates socialism with making the trains run on time and speaks of sharing power with the bourgeoisie. In the United States, the revisionist CPUSA pushes the reactionary line of detente as its "anti-monopoly coalition" denies the necessity for armed struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The sharpening of each of the four basic contradictions in the world brings with it both revolution and counterrevolution. In the age of imperialism, when the objective conditions are already rotten ripe for revolution, it is the development of the subjective factor (leadership, organization and revolutionary consciousness) which will determine whether revolution or counterrevolution will win out in the immediate period ahead.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

All the tremendous class struggles in society as a whole are reflected in the two line struggles going on within the workers and communist movement. The development of the workers and communist movement grows strong everywhere in combat against reformism and revisionism - the main ideological influence of the bourgeoisie upon the masses.

When the struggle against opportunism dates back to Marx, with the historic failure of the subjective factor in the Soviet Union, the revisionist degeneration and the restoration of capitalism, modern revisionism became the greatest obstacle to revolution, and required that the struggle against opportunism be elevated to a new plane.

Old ideas don't just fade away, they must be smashed!

Internationally, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought is engaged in a life and death battle with revisionism, trotskyism, anarcho-syndicalism and centrism for the ideological allegiance of the masses. In this struggle the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania, together with other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, have provided shining examples of proletarian leadership, and continue to lead the international communist movement toward the final victory over all forms of opportunism.

The tremendous realignment of forces worldwide that has occurred since 1949 - and recently with a lightning pace - brings with it increasing responsibilities for American communists. To begin with, we must deepen our solidarity with and support for the struggles of the exploited and oppressed people of the world against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. Second, and most important, our primary obligation as Marxist-Leninists is to take the field against monopoly capitalism here in the United States. The main blow that we can strike in this battle today is the formation of a genuine communist party of a new type. Today, this constitutes a dual task of waging a fierce struggle against all forms of revisionist ideology - politically, theoretically and organizationally - and, in the process, uniting Marxist-Leninists into a single vanguard party.

BUILD THE PARTY - SMASH OPPORTUNISM

From the standpoint of world history, the tasks of American Marxist-Leninists are decisive, and provide us with the glorious responsibility of dealing the final, ultimate death blow to imperialism and reaction worldwide.

But the exact hour we will be called upon to strike that blow may well not be determined by the pace and pronouncements of communists, but by the objective conditions themselves. A genuine revolutionary situation requires both that the exploited and oppressed masses are no longer willing to live in the old way, and that the rulers are no longer able to rule in the old way. But at this point, revolution is not the only course available, there is also fascism and war. The qualitatively new alignment of forces around the world brings with it the increasing danger of fascism at home and war around the world. The main blow we can strike now to prevent both war and fascism is the formation of a genuine communist party in the U.S., to lead the masses in proletarian revolution.

The road traveled by Marxist-Leninists in the U.S. over the last fifty years has been a constant struggle against opportunism and revisionism. In the last few years, after a long period in which economism and opportunism dominated the progressive movement, almost every honest Marxist-Leninist has come to recognize the need to build a party - a recognition that lags behind that of many other communist movements in many other countries. The question now for true Marxist-Leninists is not whether or not to advance, but exactly how to build the party.

TWO LINE STRUGGLE - TWO ROADS TO TAKE

Precisely because we face this turning point, it is not surprising that two lines emerge as to which road to take. In the last several months two line struggles between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and modern revisionism have been carried on in many organizations, collectives and progressive groups. The most obvious recent struggle was in the former Black Workers Congress. But throughout the movement, struggles have raged and continue to rage to determine which class will gain hegemony.

There are two ways to look at these struggles. On the one hand, there have been setbacks.

The communist movement has known setbacks before. The rise of the Second International under Bernstein and Kautsky, the bourgeois efforts of Trotsky and Zinoviev to turn the Soviet party toward opportunism after Lenin's death, the revisionist road of Yugoslavia, and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. In the U.S. communist movement, there, likewise, have been many setbacks: the rise of factionalism in the CPUSA, the rejection of the Comintern's position on factory nuclei and on the Black National Question, the dissolution of the CPUSA, the expulsion of genuine Marxist-Leninists from the party in the late forties and fifties, the degeneration of the Provisional Organizing Committee and Progressive Labor Party, the revisionist influence of the RU on the national question, etc.

But these setbacks only illustrate the fundamental law of all development: that in a communist party or organization, as in everything else, one divides into two. The rise of Marxism-Leninism as the world shaking force that it is, necessarily is accompanied by its opposite. The entire history and growth of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought is the history of struggle against its opposite. This is true not only in one

country, but in all countries and in all genuine communist parties.

Within the U.S. communist movement, ours is a long and tortuous heritage of struggle against opportunist and revisionist trends, dating back to Lovestone, Pepper, Browder, Dennis and down the line to Gus Hall. The number of such heretics, however, is small in comparison to the large number of honest and genuine revolutionary proletarians.

On the other hand, amidst these and other setbacks, our movement has taken important strides forward, and Marxism is the leading aspect of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. The most important victory for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought is the widespread recognition of the need for a vanguard party - a recognition which but a few years ago was held by a scant few.

The turning point we face now is not unlike that faced by other Marxist-Leninists at other critical points. Lenin described the situation well in 1902.

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MLOC

Strategy & Tactics

(1) General Strategy: The United Front against Imperialism

This strategy is based upon the nature of monopoly capitalism and the extremely high concentration of the ownership of the means of production and capital in the hands of a very tiny minority, whose interests are opposed to the interests of well over 90% of the American people. This strategy seeks to unite all those who can be united against imperialism or monopoly capitalism, under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class, the communist party of a new type. No genuine united front can exist without a genuine communist party to represent the interests of the working class as well as its allies, and to provide leadership and direction to the struggle against imperialism.

Within this general strategy there are three strategic tasks, that is, three actual tasks required to carry out the general strategy, these are the general disposition of the revolutionary forces, the plan of disposition.

A Building and defending the vanguard party of the proletariat, the communist party of a new type. This is the central task of the three strategic tasks in this period. The actual disposition of this task is spelled out in terms of the four tactical tasks outlined below.

B Building the actual forms of struggle which constitute the United Front Against Imperialism, such as mass organizations, alliances, etc. We have no actual plan of disposition in regard to this task at this time, but are in preparatory stages, laying the foundations to advance this task in a qualitative manner, once a party has been formed.

C Building the armed political struggle of the working class. Our actual plan of disposition is being developed.

At this time, these three strategic tasks remain somewhat imprecise, due to the fact that we have not yet formulated a party program. It is the party program which provided sharpness and clarity to each of these tasks, as it is the task of the program to scientifically define the aims of the proletarian movement. The three strategic tasks are designed in order to achieve the aims specified in the program.

MLOC STRATEGY (Cont p 19)

"We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance almost constantly under their fire. We have combined, by a freely adopted decision, for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not of retreating into the neighboring marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now some among us begin to cry out 'Let us go into the marsh.' And when we begin to shame them, they retort 'What backward people you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the liberty to invite you to take a better road?' Oh, yes, gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only let go of our hands, don't clutch at us and don't besmear the grand word freedom, for we too are 'free' to go where we please, free to fight not only against the marsh, but also against those who are turning towards the marsh!" (Lenin, WHAT IS TO BE DONE, CW, vol 5, p 355)

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Those that would direct us back toward the marsh speak with many voices, but all speak one language, and that is the LIQUIDATION of the genuine Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat and of the leading role which the party must play in the revolutionary struggle.

RETROGRADE MARXISM

On the one hand, there is the camp of those who have concluded, based upon the last couple of years of direct experience, that there has been enough discussion and that the party must be built now, regardless of who it leaves behind, who admit to no mistakes of any significance and have been "correct since the beginning", who believe that what's lacking is one more "mass movement" and a little more tailing the spontaneous actions of the masses, who fail to recognize the split in socialism at all, denying the bribery of anybody, who attack narrow Black nationalism or Chicano bundism as the main problem in the communist movement - not white chauvinism, who openly belittle the role of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung in their draft party program as less than that of Lenin, and who believe that a petty bourgeois party under the banner of Marxism-Leninism can lead the masses to revolution.

The economist line that calls for us to "build the mass movement" at a time when party building is the central task is the essence of the opportunist position in this period, for it states that the tasks of the proletariat are not socialist.

On the other hand, standing in the same camp but speaking a different voice, are those renegades who after tasting the task of party building, recoil and call for us to go "back to the masses", stating that a party cannot be built until we have a mass base. For those who speak in the name of "the masses", it is not possible to build a party at this time. They hold that it is the non-revolutionary character of the working class which prevents them from doing revolutionary work. They appeal to the masses against the necessity to build a revolutionary party led by revolution-

ary theory. This opportunist trend speaks in the name of the "masses" or "workers" in order to oppose the communist party or a new type altogether. This was the right opportunist line in the Black Workers Congress.

This liquidationist position regarding the relation between the party and the masses was demolished by Lenin himself.

"It is to enable the mass or a definite class to learn to understand its own interests and its position, to learn to conduct its own policy, that there must be an organization of advanced elements of the class, immediately and at all costs, even though at first these elements constitute only a tiny fraction of the class" (LCW, vol 19, p 409).

In addition to the liquidationists, there are the centrists. This right opportunist line belittles not only the need to build a party, but the struggle against revisionism altogether. This line raises to a principle the position of taking no sides on any burning issue - whether in regard to bribery in the U S, or the ideological struggle in the international communist movement. This camp is growing, has been underestimated in the past.

REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

In opposition to every shade of opportunism and American exceptionalism is the genuine revolutionary trend within our movement. This growing number of comrades - by no means limited to one or two organizations - have recognized the poisonous presence of right opportunism and revisionism within our ranks, and have taken up the banner held high by the Chinese Communist Party, the Party of Labor of Albania and other genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, against modern revisionism, as the greatest danger facing the international communist movement. In particular, this struggle has been directed against economism, belittling the role of revolutionary theory, and the white chauvinist deviation on the national question. This trend recognizes the existence of the Black nation with the right of self-determination up to and including secession, the importance of building shop nuclei, the importance of study and the revolutionary transforming role of advanced theory. This revolutionary trend has struggled to recognize the scientific character of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought and to apply it to our own concrete conditions, to root ourselves in the international heritage of the communist movement, in the traditions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung and the Communist International.

But within this revolutionary trend there are many contradictions, all of which can be summarized in the struggle for a principled, Marxist stand toward our revolutionary tasks. Not only does this require a genuine desire and all out commitment to make revolution, but a ceaseless effort to apply the international experience of the communist movement to the concrete conditions of the U S.

In looking back, or in considering the present moment, it is obvious that among genuine revolutionaries there has been a great deal of passivity toward these two requirements. This passivity has on many occasions handed the initiative over to the opportunists, such as the RU's position on the Black National Question, but also on the party program and many other tasks. This passivity among Marxist-Leninists must be smashed, but, first, we must understand some of the causes for it.

The task of reconstituting a genuine vanguard party of the proletariat is a difficult and protracted struggle in this country, for the struggle to consolidate the break ideologically, programatically and organizationally with modern revisionism has been carried on, for the most part, in the context of being cut off from the revolutionary heritage of the working class in this country. We are faced with the dual task of not only reconstituting the communist party, but of rediscovering the historical legacy of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought in this country. While the struggles against right opportunism are not new in the communist movement, almost all those comrades now taking on this crucial battle are relatively unfamiliar with the nature of similar struggles in the past. As a result, unlike other new Marxist-Leninist parties in other countries, where older comrades with long years of historical experience and tested proletarian outlook have carried through the historical struggle against revisionism, our movement is mostly comprised of young comrades, without historical roots, and with little revolutionary experience.

It should go without saying that one of the tasks taken up by the opportunists is precisely to seize the leadership of movements by taking advantage of the lack of experience in class struggle of young comrades and of their general inability to distinguish true Marxism-Leninism from sham Marxism-Leninism.

SMASH THE OLD - BUILD THE NEW

We are faced with the dual task in this period of smashing the old, and building the new. By smashing the old is not meant starting fresh again and relying only upon our own direct experience - as the economists contend - but smashing what is dying, what is decadent, what is moribund in the communist movement. That means smashing revisionism.

By building the new, we mean bringing to the forefront all that is vibrant, correct and most revolutionary in the historic struggle against revisionism. We must take up the slogans put forward by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice, surmount every difficulty to win victory" and that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything".

This is exactly the spirit which has led the advances of Marxist-Leninists through the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement, and toward the vanguard party in the past few years.

In the current period, now, it is particularly important for us to pay special attention to exactly what it means to build the new, and what is required of those who set for themselves this high responsibility.

In the last few years we have seen a tremendous influx of comrades into our movement. This, as everything else, has its good and its bad aspects. This has been positive in that it demonstrates the irresistible force of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought among the revolutionary masses, and the rising nature of our struggle against the monopoly capitalist class. On the other hand, this rapid growth - without adequate training of new comrades - has had the negative effect of, at times, discarding scientifically proven methods of work and bowing to the spontaneous, impetuous desire to make revolution.

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For this reason, as the polarization within the communist movement intensifies, and the bourgeois state promises to unleash the full fury of its force against genuine revolutionaries in the not too distant future, we must pay special attention to sharpening our criteria for distinguishing genuine from sham, for determining who is a genuine successor to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat

SUCCESSORS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

According to principles advanced by Mao Tse-Tung, there should be five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. They are

(1) They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists, taking the outlook of dialectical and historical materialism and the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought as a daily guide to action,

(2) They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of this country and of the whole world,

(3) They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority, uniting not only with those with whom they agree, but those with whom they disagree, and even those who formerly opposed them and have since been proven wrong,

(4) They must be models in applying democratic centralism, must master the principles of leadership based upon "from the masses, to the masses", and cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses,

(5) They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity, they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work.

(TRAINING SUCCESSORS FOR THE REVOLUTION IS THE PARTY'S STRATEGIC TASK, Foreign Language Press, 1965)

To train revolutionary successors to the cause of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought is a most important question facing American Marxist-Leninists today, for without such cadre as the nucleus of the leadership of the party, and thus the proletariat as a whole, our revolutionary cause is

placed in great jeopardy. In the present period, it is not always easy to distinguish genuine from sham. No doubt many today who claim to follow the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought will tomorrow, as the struggle takes an unexpected turn, fall by the wayside, if not wind up on the other side. That is why it is very important for us to establish firm solid principles as to our goals, as well as to what is required of us on the march ahead, for only those who actually adhere to the five basic principles outlined - which will be expanded in further articles - can claim to be genuine successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

UNITE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REVOLUTION

It is not enough to espouse anti-revisionist "theory" while the method and style of work are revisionist. A correct political line must lead to a correct organizational line. To set our compass directly on the building of a genuine communist party of a new type, and then to veer off course at every twist and turn in the journey, to make constant excuses and treat comrades and friends in a petty bourgeois, democratic liberal manner, is bound to lead to failure. Revolution is not a tea party. Formal politeness and rotten employee attitudes must be smashed. Liberalism, after all, is nothing but a manifestation of revisionism, of seeking unprincipled peace.

Our struggle to make revolution is both a struggle to change the world and to change ourselves. The only means we have to resolve contradictions among the people is through criticism, self-criticism in order to build unity, struggle, unity.

First and foremost among the demands placed upon American communists today is that Marxist-Leninists Unite! Not tomorrow, not at some distant date, but at the very earliest possible date, based upon the correctness of the ideological, theoretical and political line. Marxist-Leninists must unite around concrete material objectives, on the basis both of theoretical presentations of questions and political tasks required to carry out the line. We must recognize that the material basis for unity among revolutionaries is greater than the subjective basis for disunity.

Ho Chi Minh, the great and beloved patriot and leader of the Vietnamese Workers Party, spoke of "Unity, Unity,

Broad Unity, Success, Success, Great Success." It is time that Marxist-Leninists pay attention to this correct revolutionary line.

Genuine unity must be fought for, consistently, at every step along the way, against all manner of opportunism and revisionism.

The present two line struggles taking place within the communist movement must be hailed as important steps forward in our effort to smash the old and build the new. But advances on the theoretical front must be consolidated politically and organizationally. Marxist-Leninists must take concrete action to unite - the longer this takes, the greater the danger of fascism.

It is the political line which is decisive in building the unity of Marxist-Leninists. *Political line is the sum total of tasks an organization sets for itself in order to advance its overall strategic and tactical work.* Political

line consists both of theoretical clarity on issues, as well as clarity on the program necessary to carry out the line. The greatest obstacle to uniting Marxist-Leninists around a correct political line today is the lack of theoretical clarity. The extent to which we are able to provide clear precise theoretical understandings of each of the most important questions facing the revolutionary movement - coupled with clarity of line on the tasks that must be carried out to hasten the forward motion of the revolutionary movement - is the extent to which Marxist-Leninists will be able to unite into a single vanguard party of the proletariat.

Comrades, now is the time to take giant strides in building the revolutionary unity of Marxist-Leninists into a single vanguard party, in order that the communist and workers' movements can be welded to one another in an insoluble bond - a bond which will lead the exploited and oppressed peoples of the United States toward emancipation, socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and a society void of all oppression and exploitation of man by man, communism.

**MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!
WIN THE VANGUARD TO THE SIDE OF
COMMUNISM!
DEEPEN THE STRUGGLE ON THE THEORETICAL
FRONT!
BUILD THE VANGUARD COMMUNIST PARTY OF
A NEW TYPE!**



those who failed to struggle against revisionism themselves fall prey to it.

In no country, perhaps outside of the USSR, has there been such a long and treacherous history of revisionism as in the United States. The general ground for all the opportunist mistakes in the history of the Party, as Comrade Stalin pointed out as early as 1929, was the "fundamental error of exaggerating the specific features of

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American capitalism, and not basing itself on the general features of capitalism."

That modern revisionism has taken such firm roots in this country in particular, that Earl Browder is recognized as the first truly international modern revisionist, followed by Tito and Khrushov, can be explained by the unparalleled material basis for revisionism. For many years, the United States remained the unchallenged citadel of Imperialism and reaction, accumulating years of opportunist poison and corruption within the working class due to the strength of bourgeois ideology and the actual bribery of a certain upper stratum of the working class with the super-profits of Imperialism.

While a definitive grasp of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism within the CPUSA remains to be completed, it is clear that a whole

system of revisionist thinking permeated the Party from its very early days, beginning with Lovestone and Pepper. As early as 1934, Earl Browder advocated that "Communism is 20th Century Americanism."

From that point on we can trace the degeneration. The liquidation of the control commission, of the Trade Union Unity League, of fractions in mass organizations, of factory nuclei, of genuine criticism and self-criticism, the collaborationist role with union bureaucrats in organizing the CIO, the elimination of work among the unemployed, the revision of the Leninist-Stalinist position of the Party, the position of the party during the Spanish Civil War which held that, "We must not embarrass the President," the class collaborationist line on the United Front which led to the Anti-Monopoly Coalition, and the welding of

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MLOC FORUM - SEPT. 27, 1975, SF, CAL
OCTOBER REVOLUTIONS SMASH REVISIONISM
 -Restoration of Capitalism in USSR
 -International role of the Chinese
 Communist Party and other
 genuine communist parties
 -History of the revisionist CPUSA

all inclusive unity from FDR Democrats to Communists - virtually developing a program and tactical line which actually met with the approval of the monopoly capitalists up to the actual dissolution of the Party in 1945 and the formation of the Communist Political Association'

At almost every critical turn for the party, we see as the rising element in the party the denial of class struggle, the acceptance of the "peace" program of the monopoly capitalists, the liquidation of the national struggle, all leading to Browder's infamous statement in Teheran and America, that "Marxists will not help the reactionaries by opposing the slogan of 'Free Enterprise' with any form of counter-slogan."

At the same time, the early CPUSA did play a leading role in many great struggles of the working class, such as the textile, maritime, garment, fur, electrical, auto, steel, coal, and other union struggles. Communists led the great unemployed struggles of the 1930's, and the struggles for democratic rights by the Black masses. But, more than not, the leadership of communists actually consisted of trade union leadership, not communist leadership.

At several important points, particularly at the time of the dissolution of the Party and even as late as the late 1950's, Marxist-Leninists within the Party have waged ideological struggles against the revisionist degeneration of the Party. In this sense, there is nothing "new" about our current struggles against revisionism, except that it is being waged now exclusively from outside the Party.

Even the slightest investigation of Revisionism in the United States clearly illustrates that the overriding danger historically within the communist movement has been right opportunism in the form of economism. Moreover, that without a thorough grasp of the history of right opportunism within the communist movement, and its counterpart within the workers movement, reformism, the break with revisionism ideologically, theoretically, politically, and organizationally cannot be consolidated.

It is not without reason that right opportunists frequently raise the cry of "ultra leftism" as the main danger, to cover their own revisionist line. More often than not, they put themselves in the company of such distinguished campaigners against the "ultra leftism" as Tito, Krushchov, Browder, Togliatti, Eugene Dennis, and Gus Hall. History has proven that whenever American Communists have gone against the tide of right opportunism and revisionism, they have been purged as "ultra-lefts" and "factionalizers." When communists in the 1930's objected to the liquidation of factory nuclei and of Browder's opportunist "Peoples Front," they were labeled "ultra-left." When comrades in the Party spoke out against the liquidation of party work in the Black Belt, they were accused of being "ultra-left." When Party members rose up in 1944 to protest the dissolution of the Party and then in 1945 to point out that although Browder had been purged and the Party reconstituted, that revisionism had

not been purged, they were expelled as "ultra-left." IN 1956, when the CPUSA liquidated the class struggle altogether, the party and the national question, those that refused to go along with this "creative marxism" were summarily purged as "ultra-left."

The struggle against Imperialism and the struggle against opportunism - particularly right opportunism, must go hand in hand.

The result is that for close to fifty years, because of the long and deep influence of right opportunism on the American Communist Movement, there has been no systematic and patient effort made by Marxist-Leninists to win the working class to the side of communism in this country. Moreover, in a capitalist country, right deviations within the party have the opposite effect.

A victory of Right deviation in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries would mean the ideological collapse of the Communist Party and an enormous accession of strength to Social Democratism. And what does an enormous accession of strength to Social Democratism mean? It means the strengthening and consolidation of capitalism, for social democracy is the main prop of capitalism in the working class. Hence, a victory of right deviation in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries would add to the conditions necessary for the preservation of capitalism.

(Stalin, PROBLEMS OF LENINISM, "The Right Danger in the CPSU(B)," 1943)

Put in terms of the current situation in the US, right deviations within Marxist-Leninist organizations prevent the formation of a genuine vanguard party, which amounts to adding to the preservation of capitalism.

That is why the development of the subjective factor - consciousness, leadership and organization - is paramount today. In the Age of Imperialism, the objective conditions are already rotten ripe for revolution, as Lenin pointed out long ago. It is the task of the subjective factor, through the vanguard party of the proletariat, to lead the masses to revolution. For such leadership to emerge, a struggle must be waged on two fronts, against both Right opportunism and ultra-leftism, but we must make no mistake about which error historically has been the greatest danger, and which remains the greatest danger today - right opportunism.

Since the CPUSA has abandoned the interests of the working class, our class has been like a ship without a rudder. The lack of a correct revolutionary theory leading the spontaneous struggles of labor against capital, has left the working class without a center, without a general staff to lead it into battle, without strategy and tactics, without a clear course charted for its emancipation. Our task, our obligation, is to restore that leadership, to restore revolutionary theory as the guide to action for proletarian revolution.

Without its vanguard party, the working class is without direction. Without theory, the vanguard party is not able to scientifically forecast the course of events, to formulate and carry out correct policy, to confidently lead the working class towards communism.

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Historically, the US working class has waged a militant and heroic economic and political class struggle against capital. This struggle has time and time again taken the form of armed clashes and on several occasions the form of open armed insurrection. The political and economic class struggles call to mind such battles as Haymarket, Molly McGuire, Homestead, Pullman, Ludlow, Memorial Day Massacre, the Western Federation of Miners struggle, the International Working Womens' Day struggle, the Great Steel Strike, the Auto Sit-downs, the Scottsborough Boys - to name just a few. These struggles had international significance, such as the fight for the eight hour day, which served as one of the main slogans raised by the Bolsheviks in their conquest of state power.

Yet, in the US, these bitter, often bloody class struggles have not yet culminated in the establishment of workers state power. Obviously the American working class has a glorious history of economic and political class struggles. But the spontaneous struggles of the working class, by themselves, lead only to trade union consciousness, to the bowing to spontaneity, to economism and reformism. And, more often than not, when the CPUSA did participate in and lead many militant struggles, it was as the champion of economic demands, not of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The reasons for this are part and parcel of the development of capitalism in the United States. But most important, as Engels pointed out, is that there are not only two forms of class struggle, the political and the economic, but three forms of class struggle, "placing on a par with the first two the theoretical form of struggle," (WITBD, FLP, p30). It is because the American working class has lagged behind on the theoretical front - the struggle to summarize its own experience, in light of the universal laws of Marxism-Leninism, and apply this theory to the objective conditions of monopoly capital, deriving strategy and tactics from this theory - that has historically prevented the American working class from becoming, up to this point, a class conscious of its own historical mission.

At a time when the bourgeoisie is intensifying its attack upon the working class and oppressed nationalities, seeking to shift the burden of the crisis of monopoly capitalism worldwide to the backs of American workers, it becomes all the more important for Marxists-Leninists to be able to find their bearings in the face of complex conditions, to constantly remain firm and clear as to our ultimate goal. In this context, Engels' comment nearly eighty years German Marxists in the US, Engels notes that

.. they do not understand theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something to be learned by heart .. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action

.. for good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical questions, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions from Europe, they did bring over masses of medieval traditions, religion, English common (feudal) law, superstition, in short every kind of imbecility which

(Cont p. 6)

PARTY..

was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for stupefying the masses. If there are people at hand whose minds are theoretically clear, who can tell them the consequences of their own mistakes beforehand and make clear to them that every movement which does not keep the destruction of the wage system constantly in view as the final goal is bound to go astray and fail - then much nonsense can be avoided and the process can be considerably shortened.

(Marx and Engels, LETTERS TO AMERICANS, Intl. Pub., 1953, pp. 163-4, "Engels to Sorge," November 29, 1886)

Noting the propensity for narrow practical action, Engels pointed out three years earlier that it 'is just the character of the American movement, that all mistakes must be experienced in practice. If American energy and vitality were backed by European theoretical clarity, the thing would be finished over there in ten years.' (Op cit, p 141)

This propensity for narrow practical action is most expressed in the form of American Pragmatism, which finds its roots in the material development of capitalism in this country. It guides the whole course of US business and political dealings, both nationally and internationally. Since the rise of Imperialism, it has been consciously imbedded into the entire education system, where the prejudices of bourgeois ideology are used to subjugate the masses.

In America, historically, and today, in the present period, when the proletariat is without a vanguard party, the theoretical form of class struggle becomes even more important than during Engels time, for "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." Without a firm Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundation as our guide to action, the economic and political forms of class struggle remain on the spontaneous level. It is only the theoretical compass of Marxism-Leninism that allows communist cadre to steer a firm course in the revolutionary storm. The firmer the grasp of theory, the firmer the compass.

As communists, we seek to provide conscious leadership to all forms of the class struggle, at every opportunity. However, at any given period of the revolution, one form of class struggle can be seized as the key link in order to move the struggle forward, on all fronts. That key link today is the theoretical form of class struggle. It is a time, as Comrade Mao Tse-Tung states, in which the "creation and advocacy of revolutionary theory plays the principal and decisive role," (ON CONTRADICTION, FLP, p 36)

Precisely in a period of crisis for socialism, a period in which a genuine vanguard party does not now exist, and the working class is without united leadership, it is then we must pay special attention to the role of revolutionary theory.

The theoretical struggle today means the concrete analysis of concrete conditions, the application of the universal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-Tung to the objective conditions in the United States as well as raising

the rich and varied experience of the workers and communist movements in the US to the level of theory. Our theoretical work must study the current conditions, the history of our class and other classes, as well as the international revolutionary experience. Theoretical work means solving the immediate as well as long term practical problems of proletarian revolution, analysis of such important questions as the composition of capital, the various strata of each class and their relationship to the United Front, identification of the bribed stratum, the material basis for fascism, etc. Marxist-Leninists must scientifically respond to each and every demand raised by the proletariat, such that each and every protest by labor against capital can be transformed into a political demand against the capitalist class and the state apparatus they control. The greater the progress made by Communists in elaborating this theory, the greater the movement toward socialism by the working class.

Only revolutionary theory, taken as a guide to action in the practical tasks of propaganda and agitation, can transform the spontaneous, sporadic struggles of the working class into a class conscious of itself.

The theoretical struggle by Marxist-Leninists is the struggle to put the correct stand, method and viewpoint in command, to correctly interpret each of the pressing practical problems that arise in the course of class struggle, and provide scientific explanations adequate to provide the basis for revolutionary strategy, tactics and program. Each of the pressing struggles toward proletarian revolution, such as trade union work or the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, must be placed on a firm theoretical foundation. The firmness of this foundation will determine the ability of the Party to:

find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of revolutionary struggle . . . to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path of its goal . . . to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course and perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present, but how and in what direction they are bound to develop in the future.
(HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B), Conclusion)

In the last few years, Marxist-Leninists have taken steps forward in grasping these theoretical tasks, particularly in terms of the basis for party building, the Black National Question, and Soviet social imperialism. But even here our foundations are shaky, and on many other questions, such as trade union work, the united front, the women's question, our foundation is very far from adequate. On such questions, our theoretical foundations are not adequate to provide a reliable guide to action.

At every turn today, events themselves throw up definite questions, questions which must be scientifically explained and clarified to the masses, so that in each and every important turn in the class struggle, Marxists-Leninists are able to explain the elementary teachings of scientific socialism in connection with outstanding political events.

Particularly in the current period

when Imperialism is in a state of acute decay, when the moribund character of Imperialism becomes all the more visible, and thus the real danger of world war and fascism - the ideological firmness of communists and their ability to keep pace theoretically with political events, is of a decisive character.

Only if communist cadre acquire theoretical understanding of revolutionary practice can cadre become real leaders of the masses, conscious of their aims, and thereby reduce the possibility of mistakes to a minimum.

Bolshevik leadership in the face of moribund capital requires a knowledge of theory by all cadre - not just leading cadre, it demands that cadre grasp the fundamental laws of development of society, the laws of development of the working class movement, the development of proletarian revolution, the development of socialist construction, the ability to combat all decadent and revisionist tendencies nationally and internationally, and the ability to apply these laws to practical work, in the day to day class struggles of the working class. Communist cadre must be trained who fully possess these theoretical weapons, and who in turn, can train ever larger circles of cadre and advanced proletarians. The theoretical mastery of Marxism-Leninism is the foundation for Bolshevik propaganda and agitation.

Theoretical work, as Lenin directed the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, must be directed to "really attain the organization, construction, method and content of revolutionary work." The discovery of the material basis which make for revolution, the actual conditions, prospects and hindrances to revolutionary change, is the basis for successful party policy, organization and agitation. Advances on the propaganda and agitation front require clarity on fundamental theoretical questions.

Our work on the theoretical front will be arduous and protracted. But at the same time we realize that the actual fighting capacity of our cadre of all communist cadre, will in an important measure, be determined by their world outlook, as well as their ability to grasp and apply revolutionary theory. This theory does not fall from the sky, but is learned in the course of practical struggle, providing the answers to questions that the class struggle actually raises. We learn warfare through warfare, and in this way, we gradually, but systematically, raise the theoretical level of our cadre.

Theoretical work must never be separated from political and economic work. Theory can only answer the questions raised by the economic and political struggles. The study of Marxist theory is, as Mao Tse-Tung described it, a process of "practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge."

All Marxist theoretical work begins with objective reality. Theory actually studies the objective process in its development and decline, it is based upon material reality. That is why theoretical work starts from perceptual knowledge, and raises it to a conceptual level, raises particular problems to their general and universal significance.

The whole point is to know how to unite theory and practice, to promote the historical unity of the subjective and the objective, and of theory and practice.

(Cont. p 19)

HAIL THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In the last few years, because of the struggle over the Comintern Resolutions on the Black National Question in 1928 and 1930, many comrades have begun to pay increasing attention to the history and significance of the Communist International (CI). This turn in our movement represents an important effort by Marxist-Leninists to study the history of the international communist movement as it applies to the tasks of revolution in the United States.

The importance of the Communist International to Marxist-Leninists stretches far beyond the study of any one particular question. The work of the CI represents the historical summation of the worldwide struggle of the working class up to the time of the dissolution of the CI in 1943. The Comintern Resolution on the Black National Question, as an example, was based upon Lenin's prior determination of the existence of an oppressed nation in the Black Belt South (see pp 12-13).

For this reason, we are providing comrades with a brief background on the formation of the CI, its history, its relationship to the early development of the American communist movement, and its importance today.

The formation of the First (founded by Marx and Engels), Second and Third Internationals was best described by Comrade Lenin himself in the "Third International and Its Place in History," reprinted here from The Communist, March 1934.

The First International (1864-1872) laid the foundation of an international organization of workers to prepare them for their revolutionary onslaught upon capital. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organization of the proletarian movement which became widespread, but whose growth was accompanied by a temporary lowering of the revolutionary level, and a temporary increase of opportunism, and which ultimately led to the disgraceful collapse of this International.

The First International laid the foundation of the international struggle of the proletariat for Socialism.

The Second International was the epoch of preparing the ground for widespread mass movements in many countries.

The Third International was created in 1918, after the protracted struggle with opportunism and "social-chauvinism," especially during the war, had resulted in the formation of Communist Parties in various countries. The formal founding of the Third International took place at its first congress held in Moscow, March, 1919. The most characteristic feature of the Third International, namely, its mission to carry out, to bring into life, the principles of Marxism, and to bring about the realization of the century-old ideals of Socialism and the labor movement, this characteristic feature of the Third International manifested itself immediately in that the new Third "International Workingmen's Association" has to a certain extent begun to identify itself with the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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The Third International has garnered the fruit of the labors of the Second International, casting off its opportunistic, social-chauvinistic, bourgeois and petty bourgeois refuse, and has set out to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international union of parties, leading the most revolutionary movement in the world, namely, the movement of the proletariat to throw off the yoke of capitalism, rests at present on an unprecedentedly solid base - several Soviet Republics which, on an international scale, become the incarnation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and its victory over capitalism.

The world-historical significance of the Third (Communist) International consists in that it began to put into life the greatest slogan of Marx, the slogan which represents the sum-total of the development of Socialism and the labor movement, the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The founding of the Third International took place under such world-wide circumstances that neither prohibitions nor means and petty tricks of the imperialists of the "Entente", or of the lackeys of capitalism, such as Scheidemann in Germany or Renner in Austria, can possibly prevent the news thereof spreading throughout the world and enlisting the sympathies of the working masses. These circumstances have been created by the proletarian revolution, which is spreading from day to day, from hour to hour. These circumstances have been created by the movement among the toiling masses for Soviets, a movement which has acquired such magnitude as to have become truly 'International'."

Up until its dissolution in May, 1943, the Comintern played a crucial role in providing general guidance to each of the workers' parties that were affiliated. From the outset, the CI was a mutual collaboration of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries, organized in a world party, for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the establishment of a World Soviet Republic.

From time to time, the bourgeoisie and their agents in the labor movement spoke of the "interference" by the CI in American affairs, as if the CI were something apart from, or foreign to the American working class. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Comintern was a world party, by which all the various national sections rendered collective assistance to each of the sections as required.

Stalin himself dealt with the ludicrous assertion by bourgeois reaction in his interview with the first American trade union delegation to the Soviet Union in 1927. He stated flatly that, "There are no such Communists in the world who would agree to work 'under orders' from outside against their own convictions and will and contrary to the requirements of the situation. Even if there were such Communists, they would not be worth a cent." (Stalin, J., CW, vol 10, p 134).

On the other hand, Stalin at the same time spread sharp fire against those opportunists who raised "national particularities" to deny the validity of the Communist International.

In his speech in the American Commission of the Presidium of the ECCI in 1929, Stalin said that "it would be wrong to ignore the specific peculiarities of American capitalism. The Communist Party in its work must take them into account. But it would be still more wrong to base the activities of the Communist Party on these specific features, since the foundation of the activities of every Communist Party, including the American Communist Party, on which it must base itself, must be the general features of capitalism, which are the same for all countries, and not its specific features in any given country. It is on this that the internationalism of the Communist Party is founded."

The CI, as in other countries, played a very important role in offering guidance and direction to the emerging Marxist movement in the U.S. during the 1920's and 1930's. To better understand the significance of the Comintern for American communists, and the relationship of the CPUSA to the international communist movement, we are reprinting this excerpt from an article by Alex Bittelman, "Milestones of Comintern Leadership," from The Communist, March, 1934.





We shall sketch briefly the most outstanding events in the life of the American Party where consultation with and advice from the Comintern marked off a special stage in the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States.

The bringing together of all American revolutionary workers into *one Communist Party*—to realize this historic task of the American working class with the least waste of time and energy—was the first of the more significant acts of advice of the Comintern to the revolutionary workers in the United States. Considering the historically delayed organizational break with the opportunists in the Socialist movement, on the one hand, and the heterogeneous character of the left elements in the American labor movement out of which came the Communist Party, on the other hand, this unification was no easy or simple task. The difficulties lay in the "specific" features of American capitalism and of the labor movement. And in the years 1919-1921, the best elements of the American working class had been struggling to overcome the effects of these "specific" features and to arrive at a united and single Communist Party. If it were possible to imagine those years without a Communist International (which, of course, is impossible), these struggles for Communist unity would have been infinitely more protracted, wasteful, and harmful than was actually the case. But there *was* a Communist International, led by Lenin, and consequently, there was made available to the revolutionary workers of the United States the *world experiences* and prestige of the Bolshevik movement which has gone through a long struggle with opportunism and built up a united Communist Party. These experiences the Comintern utilized in order to help the American Communists of those years to solve their own specific problems of unity and these problems were solved. A unified and single Communist Party was materialized in the United States in shorter time, less painfully and wastefully, than would have been the case without the advice and assistance of the Comintern. Is there a single class-conscious worker in the United States who, having familiarized himself with this event, would reproach the Comintern for "interfering" in American affairs or reproach the American Communists for accepting this "interference"? No, only Muste & Co., and the renegades, who echo the chauvinism of the Yankee imperialists, will utter such reproaches.

We come now to another milestone of Comintern leadership. This time it was the problem of breaking through the *walls of illegality* erected by the American bourgeoisie between the young Communist Party and the working class. The Communists, having been driven underground and outlawed by the forerunners of the present New Dealers—Wilson-Palmer—in 1919-1920, were struggling to find their way to the masses despite the illegality and governmental persecutions. What were the special difficulties for the solution of this problem? They arose from the danger of seeking to achieve legality by sacrificing Communist principles and hiding the revolutionary line, on the one hand, and from the danger of trying to preserve intact the Communist principles by abandoning all serious fight for legal and open work, on the other hand. The way to the masses, the Communist Party could then find only by fighting and overcoming these Right and "left" opportunist dangers. One of the founders of the recently launched Muste American Workers' Party, Hardman-Salutsky, was at that time especially active in trying to switch the Communist movement to the path of buying legality by sacrificing the revolutionary line. Lacking the necessary Leninist training and experience, the American Communist Party found it extremely difficult to reach the correct solution of this task and was therefore torn between the two opportunist dangers of legalistic liquidation of the Communist Party and underground sectarianism. Once more the American Communists consulted with the Communist International. This was in 1921-1922. And the correct advice came, as it was bound to, and with its help the Workers' Party of America was organized which opened up for the illegal Communist Party of America wide opportunities for open revolutionary work among the masses. Illegal work, that is, revolutionary mass work that could not be done openly because of governmental persecutions, was not abandoned but continued, the illegal work supplementing the legal, and vice versa. The Party authority continued to rest in the underground Communist Party, as it should be under these conditions. And when the influence of the Communists in the Workers' Party had become firmly established, and the basic revolutionary mass work could be carried on through the Workers' Party legally, then the underground Communist Party became merged with the Workers' Party, that is, the latter became the Communist Party of the country. American Communism thus solved its immediate task and reached a higher stage in its development towards becoming the mass Party of the American proletariat.

What was it that proved especially helpful for the American Communists in the Comintern advice on legal and illegal work? It was the world and Russian experience of Bolshevism. Under Lenin's guidance the Bolsheviks had repeatedly met and solved such and similar problems and solved them successfully, as history has proved. The Bolshevik solutions, while primarily applied in Russia because there was the Party to do it, were based upon the experiences of the working class movement all over the world and thus acquired an international significance. The American Communists have been helped by the Comintern in applying these solutions to American conditions. In doing so they have not only *defeated* the efforts of the bourgeoisie to strangle the revolutionary movement in the period of 1919-1921, but have also acquired knowledge and skill to defeat such efforts again, especially in the present period of sharp turn to fascism and war which inevitably brings new attacks upon the legality of the Communist Party and the working class movement as a whole. Will any sincere and militant worker in the United States, who is loyal to his class and its liberation from the misery and suffer-

ings of capitalism, reproach the Comintern for having helped the American revolutionary workers to defeat the Wilson-Palmer persecutions? And will such a worker hold it against the American Communist Party for having accepted this helpful guidance? No, only Muste-Hardman & Co., led by the renegades, will indulge in such reproaches, because this warm and select company is echoing the raging chauvinism of the Yankee imperialists.

The next milestone in the Comintern leadership for the American Party we find on the question of trade union work. On this, more perhaps than on any other question, the left and militant elements in the American labor movement, in the two decades before the emergence of the Comintern (not to go into the pre-imperialist era), had got themselves tangled up in insoluble difficulties, torn between reformism and anarcho-syndicalism, only because they were unable, by their own efforts, to restore and further develop the revolutionary teachings of Marx and to apply them to the United States of the imperialist era. Lenin did that, but the American militants (even they) were too provincial, not enough international, because still influenced by bourgeois ideology, to find out what Leninism stands for and what it could do for the progress of the American working class. The Comintern brought the American militants and lefts closer to the world labor movement and to the basic problems of the American labor movement. The trade union question was one of them. The young American Communist movement struggled painfully to throw off the ballast of Gompers-Hillquit reformism and DeLeon-IWW sectarianism, sometimes falling victim to the former, at other times to the latter, and occasionally to both. Even the best and most experienced among the left and militant leaders of the American workers, the builders and founders of the revolutionary movement of the American workers in the imperialist era, such as the late Charles E. Ruthenberg, as well as the present leader of our Party, William Z. Foster, were able to rid themselves and our movement of the old ballast of opportunism only by coming closer to Leninism and into the Comintern. By becoming *more international*, the proletarian vanguard in the United States has become also *more American*, because the international experience, as it is incorporated in Leninism and in Comintern guidance, helped the American Communists to come closer to the basic masses of the American proletariat and to begin to function as the leaders of its struggles against American capitalism.

It was Comintern advice and guidance that helped the American Communists to turn full face to the building of a left-wing in the reformist unions beginning with 1920, it was the advice of the Comintern that helped formulate a correct solution to one of the basic problems of the American proletariat—the organization of the unorganized into trade unions, it was advice of the Comintern on independent leadership of the economic struggles by the revolutionary elements that helped formulate strike policies and tactics, it was Comintern advice of how to revolutionize the labor movement, through organization and leadership of the daily struggles of the masses and systematic exposure and struggle against the reformists, that helped the American Communists to prove to wide masses of workers and toilers that the CP USA is the only true proletarian party in the United States and the leader of all exploited. In short, at every stage in the development of the revolutionary trade union movement in the United States (IUEL, class struggle unions of the TUUL, the application of the united front on the trade union field, the fight for trade union unity, etc.), it was with the help of the Comintern that the American revolutionary workers were able to find the correct way, to correct their errors and, through manifold changes in tactics, to press on to the goal of building a revolutionary trade union movement in the United States.

Comintern influence on the development of revolutionary trade union policies in the United States has especial significance. Here as in other capitalist countries the imperialist bourgeoisie, with the help of the reformists, succeeded in *splitting the working class*, setting the small minority of "labor aristocrats" against the basic mass of the proletariat. Following out this policy, the reformist trade union bureaucracy was persistently shutting out of trade union organization the bulk of the American proletariat, especially its most oppressed and exploited sections. This it was that constituted and still constitutes one of the chief weaknesses of the American working class. And the most damning indictment against the AFL bureaucracy is its discrimination and exclusion of the Negro proletariat. It is significant, therefore, that the first question which Comrade Stalin put to the American trade union delegation was "How do you account for the small percentage of American workers organized in trade unions?" And he added "I would like to ask the delegation whether it regards this small percentage of organized workers as a good thing. Does not the delegation think that this small percentage is an indication of the weakness of the American proletariat and of the weakness of its weapon in the struggle against the capitalists in the economic field?" This was in 1927. Lack of space does not permit to deal here with the answer of the delegation. Suffice it to say that this delegation, made up as it was of so-called progressives, really bourgeois liberals, was in its answers, at best, very helpless and confused. But the intent of Stalin's question is clear. Why don't you organize the workers in trade unions? Why don't you strengthen them against the capitalists? And it was in this direction that the Comintern threw the full weight of its influence and advice in the American labor movement. Organize the basic sections of the proletariat into unions, liberate the existing mass trade unions from the stranglehold of the reformists, and unify the trade union movement of this country—this was the nature of Comintern guidance to the revolutionary workers in the United States. Tactics and methods of work might vary, depending upon the state of the class struggle. In the light of recent events, the Communist Party favors



the organization of independent unions *in those cases* where such a measure would constitute a *step in advance* towards the revolutionization of the trade union movement. But the strategic aim always remained the same, and for this aim the Communist Party fights bravely and persistently and with increasing effectiveness. The general crisis of capitalism, undermining the basis of existence of large numbers of the "labor aristocracy" as well as of the working class as a whole, creates ever more favorable conditions for the realization of this aim. So, we ask again: can any American worker, who is alive to the needs of his class and is willing to fight for them, find anything to object to in this "interference" of the Communist International in American affairs? And will he object to the Communist Party of the U.S. accepting and taking deep satisfaction in such "interference"? No, he will not. Only Muste and Co., abetted by the renegades, will object and will call it "outside dictation", because these groups echo the mad chauvinism of the Yankee imperialists.

We shall now relate another significant instance of Comintern leadership in the U.S. In the years 1921-1924, one of the important phases of the American labor movement was a widespread urge for the organization of a Labor Party. The left-wing in the Socialist Party, and the first Communist Party conventions, took a completely negative attitude towards it. But in their struggle to establish contact with the masses and with their movements against capitalism and its major political parties, the American Communists came to adopt the position of active participation in the Labor Party movements. The aim of this position was to accelerate the existing break-away movement of the workers and toiling farmers from the capitalist parties and to direct this movement along the channels of independent working class political action. Comintern influence and advice strengthened the American Communists in this determination, thus helping to overcome the various sectarian objections to such a policy. But it also did something else, it tried to guard the American Communists against some of the reformist dangers. For instance, the danger of forcing the organization of a Labor Party before there was a sound proletarian mass basis laid for it, or the danger of the Labor Party movement becoming a tail end to the petty-bourgeois Farmer-Labor movements with the inevitable submerging of the workers and the young Communist Party into this petty-bourgeois outfit controlled by bourgeois politicians. The Comintern advice was: Beat back your sectarian tendencies, participate actively in the Labor Party movement, build unceasingly your own proletarian base and the proletarian mass base for the Labor Party, especially by building the revolutionary trade union movement, and fight against all Right opportunist tendencies to submerge the workers in petty-bourgeois movements. Unfortunately this advice was not always followed, with the result that the Communist Party itself began to flirt with the petty-bourgeois farmer-labor party and with the late La Follette (1923-1924). If continued, such flirtation might have become highly dangerous for the cause of working class independent political action and for the Communist Party. Again Comintern advice was thrown in to straighten out the Party's line, and at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern the American experiences were evaluated afresh. This was done in the light of the general analysis of the world (and American) situation which showed the weakening of the relative stabilization of capitalism, the approach of a new and sharper phase of its general crisis, and the consequent growing radicalization of the masses. This was in 1928. And the Congress said to the American Communists: "Concentrate on the work in the trade unions, on organizing the unorganized, etc., and in this way lay the basis for the practical realization of the slogan of a broad Labor Party, organized from below."



No wonder Muste, Hardman-Salutsky and Co. do not like Comintern "interference", because it helps to expose, and cuts straight across, the reformist machinations of this "left" social-fascist outfit. In 1922, the Communist Party was forced to expel from its ranks this same Hardman-Salutsky because he was working hand in glove with the A.F. of L. bureaucracy and the farmer-labor party politicians against the organization of a Labor Party and against the labor party policies of the Communist Party of which he was then a member. Now, when the Communist Party concentrates on building the firm proletarian base (in the unions and in the shops and among the unemployed) upon which alone, as experience has shown, a broad Labor Party organized from below can come into existence without the danger of its becoming the tail end of reformist and bourgeois farmer-labor politicians, the same Salutsky-Hardman, this time in company with Muste, proceeds again to collaborate with the A.F. of L. bureaucracy and the farmer-labor politicians to oppose the line of the Communist Party. Only now, having "learned" from experience, he and Muste are using the very Labor Party slogan for this purpose, for the purpose of obstructing the radicalization of the masses and of steering this radicalization into Farmer-Labor party channels. The Comintern has helped the American workers and their Communist Party to expose and fight against this and similar "left" maneuvers of the reformists; it has helped and is helping to build organized proletarian strength and to unite this strength with the exploited toiling farmers under working class leadership. With Leninism as its guide, the Communist Party of the U.S. is fighting for the organization of the *alliance* between the workers, toiling farmers, and Negroes under the *hegemony of the proletariat*, concentrating on developing the working class, politically and organizationally, as the true leader of this alliance. Can the American class-conscious workers, and militant toiling farmers, reproach the Comintern for thus guiding the American Communists and the struggling masses of the U.S.? Can they object to the American Communists accepting and following out this advice? No, they cannot and they do not. Only Muste, Hardman and Co. raise such objections and this they do because the Yankee imperialists do it.

We come to a milestone of Comintern leadership in the U.S. that has been especially fruitful in making the fight for proletarian internationalism live and real and in projecting the liberating mission of the American proletariat in a most concrete and telling manner. We refer here to the Communist program for *Negro liberation*. It was no accident that this was the problem—the Negro problem in the U.S.—that it took the revolutionary workers of America the *longest*, in point of time, to become aware of and to find a solution for. Bourgeois ideology, the "white prejudices" of the old slave market, had poisoned the minds, not alone of the backward strata of the toilers, but also the most advanced sections. And thus we find that the left-wing of the Socialist Party which formed the Communist Party somehow "overlooked" the national-revolutionary significance of the Negro liberation struggles. And even when the American communists had finally begun to grapple with the Negro question in a Leninist way, starting practical mass work to organize the white and Negro toilers to struggle for Negro rights, there still was considerable hesitation and confusion among the weaker elements of the Communist movement to project boldly the full Leninist solution of the problem. Once more came the "outside" influence of the Comintern, and what did it say? It said that the struggle against discrimination and for Negro rights is a revolutionary struggle for the national liberation of the Negroes, that we must fight for complete Negro equality, and that in the Black Belt the full realization of this demand requires the fight for the national self-determination of the Negroes, including the right to separation from the United States and the organization of an independent state. Furthermore, it was the interpretation of Leninism and its application to the United States as made by the Comintern that showed the American Communists that the agrarian revolution in the Black Belt, where the Negro masses are mostly peasants and semi-serfs, is the basis of the national-liberation movement and that this movement is one of the allies of the American proletariat in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Lovestone renegades advocate the bourgeois theory that capitalist development itself, the "industrialization of the South", will solve the Negro question. The Communist Party—following the lead of the Comintern—says that only the national-revolutionary movement of the Negroes, as an organic part and ally of the proletarian revolution, will solve the Negro question. From this point of view, the American Communists are able to expose the Muste-Hardman position on this question as bourgeois liberalism in words and Yankee white chauvinism in deeds. Will the Negro workers, farmers, and city poor consider the Comintern advice on the Negro question as "outside dictation"? No. They will, as they actually do, receive this advice with outstretched arms and will continue in ever-larger masses to rally around the Communist Party as the leader of the liberation fight. And will the white workers, those belonging to the dominating nationality in the United States but who are already awake to their true interests, will they perhaps resent this advice as "outside dictation"? No. Some of these class-conscious white workers may still hesitate because they are as yet not completely free from the bourgeois curse of white chauvinism, but none of them will say that this advice is not in the best interests of the American working class and of all exploited.

Let us now cast just a glance (space does not permit more than that) at still another "dictation" from the Comintern—the advice to the American Communists and to the revolutionary trade union movement to make the demand for *unemployment insurance* one of the major issues of the class struggle. Not that the American Communists were not aware of the importance of this demand, but (for a time) they had not managed, for various reasons, to project this demand into the mass struggles in a really effective way. The Comintern began to stress this issue long before the outbreak of the economic crisis with its 17 million fully unemployed. Seeing the permanent unemployed army of over 4 million workers in the years of "prosperity", and foreseeing the end of relative capitalist stabilization which would catastrophically increase unemployment, as it did, the Comintern undertook to prepare the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, and through it the whole working class for effective struggle against unemployment. The Communist Party, guided by the Comintern, eventually succeeded in making this demand, together with the demand for immediate relief to the unemployed, a major issue in the class struggle of the United States. And it is indisputable that whatever relief was "granted" to the workers, through governmental agencies and otherwise, was a result mainly of the struggles initiated by the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade-union movement. Furthermore, these struggles had a powerful revolutionizing effect upon wide masses of workers. Will the unemployed American workers, who know these facts, as well as the class-conscious employed workers, resent this "interference" of the Comintern in American affairs? No, they will not, they will say: if this is what Comintern leadership means, we are all for it, despite the chauvinistic "Americanisms" of the Right and "left" social-fascists and their renegade companions.

And lastly—the *liquidation of the factional situation* in the Communist Party. It is on this, more than anything else, that the Muste-Hardman outfit, led by the Lovestone renegades and the Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries, choose to illustrate the "outside dictation" and interference of the Communist International. Well, the facts speak for themselves. By the early summer of 1929, the factional cancer had been spreading to the vitals of the Communist Party for many years was beginning to threaten the most serious consequences. A break up of the Party into various pieces with some of them getting switched into the channels of "left" reformism, others getting tangled up in some hopeless sectarian nooks, while

(Cont. p. 10)



still others being caught in the nets of Trotskyism, seemed almost inevitable, if a quick and radical end was not made with the factional situation. And remember these were the dangers confronting the Communist Party at the very threshold of the economic crisis, authority and wisdom, in so speaking, in pointing out the dangers and the way to avoid them, the Comintern *released the initiative and creative activity* of the overwhelming majority of the Party, the initiative that had become paralyzed during the years of factional fight, and on the basis of this initiative of the Party membership, with the help of this power, the Party was able to cleanse itself of the hopelessly factional elements and of the Right and "left" opportunist groupings that went with the factions and thus laid the basis for the subsequent unification of the Party and its fresh start on the field of revolutionary mass work. The Comintern did "interfere", there can be no doubt of that. And it is fortunate that it did. And if you wish to know what precisely it was that fired the imagination and enthusiasm of the membership and sympathizers of the Communist Party of the US to endorse and follow out the advice of the Comintern in making an end to factionalism and in cleansing itself of the Lovestone opportunists and the conciliators, read once more Stalin's speeches on the question. We must quote at least this

"I think, comrades, that the American Communist Party is one of those few Communist Parties in the world upon which history

has laid tasks of a decisive character from the point of view of the world revolutionary movement. You all know very well the strength and power of American imperialism. Many now think [that was spoken in May, 1929] that the general crisis of world capitalism will not affect America. That, of course, is not true. It is entirely untrue, comrades. The crisis of world capitalism is developing with increasing rapidity and cannot but affect American capitalism. The three million now unemployed in America are the first swallows indicating the ripening of the economic crisis in America. The sharpening antagonisms between America and England, the struggle for markets and raw materials and, finally, the colossal growth of armaments—that is the second portent of the approaching crisis. I think the moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will develop in America. And when a revolutionary crisis develops in America, that will be the beginning of the end of world capitalism as a whole. It is essential that the American Communist Party should be capable of meeting that historical moment fully prepared and of assuming the leadership of the impending class struggle in America. Every effort and every means must be employed in preparing for that, comrades. For that end the American Communist Party must be improved and bolshevized. For that end we must work for the complete liquidation of factionalism and deviations in the Party. For that end we must work for the re-establishment of unity in the Communist Party of America. For that end we must work in order to form real revolutionary cadres and a real revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, capable of leading the many millions of the American working class toward the revolutionary class struggle. For that and all personal factors and factional considerations must be laid aside and the revolutionary education of the working class of America must be placed above all."

This brief summary of the importance of the Comintern in regard to the development of Marxism-Leninism in the United States covers the first 15 years of the CI. Up until its dissolution in May 1943, the Comintern provided a guiding light to all national sections through its systematic upholding of the principles of Marxism-Leninism from vulgarization and distortion by all opportunist elements in the working class movement worldwide, by concretely helping to consolidate and promote the working class movements in numerous countries, and by helping to mobilize the workers for the defense of their economic and political struggles against monopoly capitalism and fascism. And it was the Comintern, who systematically provided clear and reliable theoretical guidance to the uneven development of each of the growing workers' parties around the world.

By 1943, however, the Comintern was not able to fulfill these tasks in the same manner, due to the great differences and problems faced by individual countries as a result of World War 2, and the spread of fascism. Therefore, the Comintern was dissolved in order to facilitate the "work of all patriots of all countries for uniting the progressive forces of their respective countries, regardless of party or religious faith, into a single camp of national liberation for unfolding the struggle against fascism."

(From Resolution of the ECCI Recommending the Dissolution of the Communist International, May 15, 1943)

STAND TOWARD THE COMINTERN

In looking back, we must draw two very important lessons regarding the Comintern. First, that the revolutionary course of any country, even with the best guidance provided from afar, depends first and foremost upon the internal development of the revolutionary movement in that country. This, obviously, was the case with the CPUSA. In too many cases to cite here, the CI directed the CPUSA along a correct course—in regard to factory nuclei or the Black Nation in the Black Belt South—only to have the internal contradictions within the party undermine the correct leadership given by the CI. As Mao Tse-Tung points out in On Contradiction, the external factors are the conditions of change, but it is the internal factors which are the basis of change.

Second, and most important for us now, is our attitude toward the Comintern today. For the most part,

American communists are ignorant of the CI and to a large extent, cut off from the history of the American communist movement, and of the international communist movement. The CI was not just another body whose opinions we can take or discard at will. It presented, as Stalin pointed out, the "holy of holies of the working class," as it was based at every turn, upon the direction given it by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and represented the summation of class struggle around the world. That is why one's attitude toward the Comintern today is a matter of class stand.

This lesson is most vividly illustrated by the stand comrades take toward the existence of an oppressed nation in the Black Belt South. It was the position of Lenin, Stalin, and the Comintern, that an oppressed nation existed in the Black Belt South with the full right of self determination, up to and including the right of secession (see Comintern reprint, "The 1928 and 1930 Comintern Resolutions on the Black National Question in the United States", pp. 12-17 of this issue). As Marxist-Leninists, we accept this position as representing the correct application of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as applied to the concrete conditions in the United States. We do not jump to raise the particularities of the development of capitalism in the U.S. (such as the "nation of a new type theory"), in order to negate the universal features of capitalist development worldwide.

If an honest comrade holds the view that either Lenin, Stalin or the Comintern were wrong, on this or any other question, or that the particular conditions of capitalism in the United States now negates the position of the Comintern, then she or he has an obligation to raise this viewpoint in a **correct Marxist-Leninist manner**. This does not mean strutting around denying the Comintern or raising doubts about the Comintern, or speculating on the exceptional development of capitalism in the U.S. (Good teachers here by negative example would be the recent anti-Marxist publications, "Critique of the Black Nation Thesis," or the New Voice's "Defeat The 'National Question' Line In the US and Unite to Fight Racism").

On the contrary, it means that a genuine Marxist-Leninist begins with an acceptance of the historical position of the international communist movement and seeks to understand that position in an objective, scientific

manner. Then, if questions arise, this comrade should set out to study, investigate, and scientifically seek truths from facts in order to develop a correct line on the Black National Question in the United States, on the basis of current concrete conditions. But until such time as this work has been concluded, until such time as the comrade has made a systematic study and investigation of the question, and is prepared to demonstrate the inadequacy of Lenin's, Stalin's or the Comintern's position, she/he must refrain from spreading petty bourgeois doubts about the historical experience summed up by the Comintern. Such arrogant anti-Marxist behavior rejects the objective validity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought as a science, rejects the international experience of the communist movement, and bows to the most reactionary right opportunist tendencies of American exceptionalism.

On the other hand, communists always guard against any tendency not to ask the whys and wherefores of every question, in order that comrades may be confident and capable of finding their own bearings on each important question. In regard to the Black National Question, the MLOC recognizes the existence of an oppressed nation in the Black Belt South with the full right to self determination, up to and including secession. At the same time, we recognize the need for further documentation on this question, and are proceeding to carry out investigation. In particular, each of Stalin's five criteria must be clearly and fully demonstrated, and the slogan of the right of nations to self determination must be given concrete programmatic content.

In closing, we hope that this brief introduction will assist comrades in undertaking further study of the Communist International on many other questions. In the following pages we present the 1924 position of the CI on factory nuclei, and an excerpt from the Program of the Communist International, "The Ultimate Aim of the Communist International-World Communists."

Party building requires that all comrades study the current conditions, history, and the international revolutionary experience in order to draw conclusions from this study as a guide to action. The study of the CI is nothing more than the study of the history of the international communist movement from 1919-1943.



ON FACTORY NUCLEI 1924



The following resolution on the Organization of Factory Nuclei was unanimously adopted at the Session of the Presidium of the E C C I on January 21, 1924, with the proviso, that amendments necessitated by conditions within the various Sections may be introduced.

The Party organisation must be adapted to the conditions and aims of its work. Under the reformist policy of the Social-Democratic parties, which endeavoured to exert an influence upon the bourgeois government by means of the ballot box, it was natural that attention should be chiefly directed to the organisation of voters. The organisation, therefore, was based upon electoral divisions and residential areas. The Communist Party inherited this form of organisation from the Social-Democratic parties, but it is entirely opposed, not only to the final aims of the Communist Party, but also to its immediate tasks. The final aim of our Party is to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, seize power for the working class, and bring Communism into being. Its immediate tasks are to win the majority of the working class by active participation in the everyday struggles of the working masses, and to secure the leadership of these struggles. This can only be achieved by means of the closest contact between our Party organisations and the working masses in the factories.

It was from this point of view that the Third Congress of the Communist International decided that the basis of the Communist Party must be the factory nuclei. In the majority of the Sections of the Communist International this has not yet been carried into effect, and in many, the question of organising factory nuclei has not even been concretely formulated. The experience of the German revolution (at the end of 1923), once more clearly demonstrated that without factory nuclei and the closest contact with the working masses, it is impossible to draw the latter into the struggle and to lead them, that it is impossible to gauge their moods accurately and thus take advantage of the most favourable moment for our action, and that it is useless to expect victory over the bourgeoisie.

THE FUNDAMENTAL FORMS OF LOCAL ORGANISATION

◆1 The factory nuclei form the basis of the Party Organisation. All Communists working in a factory must be members of the nucleus in that factory.

Note Where there are only one or two Party members in a factory and, therefore, they cannot form a nucleus, they are to be attached to the nucleus of the nearest factory, which must conduct the work in all adjacent factories where there are no nuclei.

◆2 Communists who do not work in factories, workshops, shops, etc. (housewives, domestic servants, house porters, etc.), form residential Party nuclei.

Note Members of factory nuclei who live in other sections are obliged to register with the committee of the section (part of the town) where they reside. The section committee assigns them to residential nuclei. Members of Party nuclei of other sections who are assigned by Section Committees to re-

sidential nuclei, vote in these nuclei on questions which they have voted on in the factory nuclei (questions of Party principle, election of Party delegates, etc.)

◆3 Unemployed members remain attached to the nucleus of the factory where they were formerly employed. In the event of protracted unemployment, with the consent of the section committee, they may leave their nucleus and be transferred to the sub-section where they live, and be attached to another nucleus.

◆4 In small industrial centres, towns and villages, where the workers reside in close proximity to their factories, or farms, uniform nuclei are formed as far as possible around the factory or farm.

◆5 Factory nuclei and residential nuclei elect an executive committee consisting of three, or at most, five persons. The elections take place at the general meetings of the nuclei. The executive committee of the nucleus distributes the work amongst its members. According to the size of the nucleus, the executive committee appoints comrades for the distribution of literature, the conduct of propaganda, a comrade for trade union work, one to conduct the work of the fractions in the factory councils, one for co-operation with the young Communist nucleus, one to conduct the work among women, etc.

◆6 Party members who are members of a factory nucleus pay their dues to that nucleus, Party members who are members of a residential nucleus pay their dues to the latter.

◆7 In large towns where there are numerous factory and residential nuclei, they are united into sub-sections. The sub-sections are joined into sections. All the sections of a large town constitute the local organisation. The section committee fixes its own sub-sections. In doing so, the section committee should attempt as far as possible to form the sub-sections around large factories.

In medium sized towns, sub-sections should be formed, uniting the factory and the residential nuclei. The sub-sections constitute the local organisation. In small towns and villages the nuclei are united into local groups. The local organisations in medium-sized towns and the local groups of small towns and of villages are united into sub-districts.

Note

Note Sub-sections and local groups, in accordance with local needs and requirements, hold regular meetings of all the members of the factory and residential nuclei of their sub-section.

◆8 At the head of each sub-section or local group, is an executive committee consisting of from three to five persons, elected at the general meeting of the members of the nuclei of the sub-section or local group, or else, depending upon local conditions (e.g., when the Party is illegal) at delegate conferences. The election of the secretary of the committee of the sub-section and of the local groups must be confirmed by the section committee (in the country districts, by the district committee). At the head of the section (city) and the sub-district (country) is the section or sub-district committee elected at section or sub-district Party conferences.

◆9 At the sub-section and group delegate meetings, and at district and sub-district conferences, the nuclei should be represented in proportion to the size of their membership, but in such a manner that the majority should consist of delegates from the factory nuclei. The number of delegates from each nucleus should be decided by the sub-section or sub-district committee.

In organisations where, owing to the fact that they are illegal, it is impossible to have a large representation at the sections or sub-district conferences, the delegates may be elected not directly by the nuclei, but at sub-section or group delegate meetings.

◆10 Local committees (in large towns) are elected at local conferences consisting of delegates from all the sections elected at section conferences in proportion to the size of the membership of the district.

◆11 In order to increase the influence of the factory nuclei, more than half the members, both of the sub-section committees and of the section committees should be members of factory nuclei. The local committees should consist partly of factory workers.

◆12 Where the Party is illegal, the higher Party organs in special circumstances (e.g., the arrest of a section committee, etc.) have the right to appoint new members of the section committee, with the understanding that a delegate meeting or conference will be summoned at the first opportunity in order to confirm the appointed committee or elect a new one. Members of a committee who have escaped arrest have the right of co-opting new members to the committee, with the agreement and confirmation of the higher Party organs, until a conference is summoned. If the Party is illegal, the number of members of the section committee should be as small as possible.

THE TASKS OF THE FACTORY NUCLEI

The political organisational work of the Party should be centred in the factory nuclei, by leading the struggles of the working masses for their everyday needs, should direct them into the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. A factory nucleus should, therefore, consider and determine its point of view upon every political or economic question agitating the working masses, and upon every conflict arising in the revolutionary method of settling questions and as the most conscious and active part of the working class, must assume the leadership of the struggle.

In addition to general Party work, the tasks of the factory nuclei are as follows:

◆1 To carry on Communist agitation and propaganda among the non-party working masses, by systematic instruction of individual workers in order to draw them into the ranks of the Communist Party, distribution of political literature in the factories, discussion of questions affecting the factory, and even the publication of a special factory newspaper, the carrying on of social and agitational work among the factory workers.

◆2 Determined and continuous efforts must be made to win elected posts in the shops, trade unions, co-operatives, factory committees, control commissions,

I THE 1928 COMINTERN RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

1 The industrialization of the South, the concentration of a new Negro working class population in the big cities of the East and North and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale, create the possibility for the Negro workers under the leadership of the Communist Party, to assume the hegemony of all Negro liberation movements, and to increase their importance and role in the revolutionary struggle of the American proletariat

The Negro working class has reached a stage of development which enables it, if properly organized and well led, to fulfill successfully its double historical mission

(a) To play a considerable role in the class struggle against American imperialism as an important part of the American working class, and

(b) To lead the movement of the oppressed masses of the Negro population

2 The bulk of the Negro population (86%) live in the southern states of this number 74 per cent live in the rural districts and are dependent almost exclusively upon agriculture for a livelihood Approximately one half of these rural dwellers live in the so called "Black Belt," in which area they constitute more than 50 per cent of the entire population The great mass of the Negro agrarian population are subject to the most ruthless exploitation and persecution of a semi-slave character In addition to the ordinary forms of capitalist exploitation, American imperialism utilizes every possible form of slave exploitation (peonage, share cropping, landlord supervision of crops and marketing etc) for the purpose of extracting super profits On the basis of these slave remnants, there has grown up a super structure of social and political inequality that expresses itself in lynching, segregation, Jim Crowism, etc

Necessary Conditions for National Revolutionary Movement

3 The various forms of oppression of the Negro masses, who are concentrated mainly in the so-called "Black Belt," provide the necessary conditions for a national revolutionary movement among the Negroes The Negro agricultural laborers and the tenant farmers feel most the pressure of white persecution and exploitation Thus, the agrarian problem lies at the root of the Negro national movement The great majority of Negroes in the rural districts of the south are not "reserves of capitalist reaction," but potential allies of the revolutionary proletariat Their objective position facilitates their transformation into a revolutionary force, which, under the leadership of the proletariat, will be able to participate in the joint struggle with all other workers against capitalist exploitation

4 It is the duty of the Negro workers to organize through the mobilization of the broad masses of the Negro population the struggle of the agricultural laborers and tenant farmers against all forms of semi-feudal oppression On the other hand, it is the duty of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. to mobilize and rally the broad masses of the white workers for active participation in this struggle For that reason the Party must consider the beginning of systematic work in the south as one of its main tasks, having regard for the fact that the bringing together of the workers and toiling masses of all nationalities for a joint struggle against the landowners and the bourgeoisie is one of the most important aims of the Communist International, as laid down in the resolutions on the national and colonial question of the Second and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern

For Complete Emancipation of Oppressed Negro Race

5 To accomplish this task, the Communist Party must come out as the champion of the right of the oppressed Negro race for full emancipation While continuing and intensifying the struggle under the slogan of full social and political equality for the Negroes, which must remain the central slogan of our Party for work among the masses, the Party must come out openly and unreservedly for the right of the Negroes to national self-determination in the southern states, where the Negroes form a majority of the population The struggle for equal rights and the propaganda for the slogan of self-determination must be linked up with the economic demands of the Negro masses, especially those directed against the slave remnants and all forms of national and racial oppression Special stress must be laid upon organizing active resistance against lynching, Jim Crowism, segregation and all other forms of oppression of the Negro population

6 All work among the Negroes, as well as the struggle for the Negro cause among the whites, must be used, based upon the changes which have taken place in the relationship of classes among the Negro population The existence of a Negro industrial proletariat of almost two million workers makes it imperative that the main emphasis should be placed on these new proletarian forces The Negro workers must be organized

under the leadership of the Communist Party, and thrown into joint struggle together with the white workers The Party must learn to combine all demands of the Negroes with the economic and political struggle of the workers and the poor farmers

American Negro Question Part of World Problem

7 The Negro question in the United States must be treated in its relation to the Negro questions and struggles in other parts of the world The Negro race everywhere is an oppressed race Whether it is a minority (U.S.A., etc.), majority (South Africa) or inhabits a so-called independent state (Liberia, etc.), the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism Thus, a common tie of interest is established for the revolutionary struggle of race and national liberation from imperialist domination of the Negroes in various parts of the world A strong Negro revolutionary movement in the U.S.A. will be able to influence and direct the revolutionary movement in all those parts of the world where the Negroes are oppressed by imperialism

8 The proletarianization of the Negro masses makes the trade unions the principal form of mass organization It is the primary task of the Party to play an active part and lead in the work of organizing the Negro workers and agricultural laborers in trade unions Owing to the refusal of the majority of the white unions in the U.S.A., led by the reactionary leaders, to admit Negroes to membership, steps must be immediately taken to set up special unions for those Negro workers who are not allowed to join the white unions At the same time, however, the struggles for the inclusion of Negro workers in the existing unions must be intensified and concentrated upon, special attention must be given to those unions in which the statutes and rules set up special limitations against the admission of Negro workers Primary duty of Communist Party in this connection is to wage a merciless struggle against the A.F. of L. bureaucracy, which prevents the Negro workers from joining the white workers' unions The organization of special trade unions for the Negro masses must be carried out as part and parcel of the struggle against the restrictions imposed upon the Negro workers and for their admission to the white workers' unions The creation of separate Negro unions should in no way weaken the struggle in the old unions for the admission of Negroes on equal terms Every effort must be made to see that all the new unions organized by the Left wing and by the Communist Party should embrace the workers of all nationalities and of all races The principle of one union for all workers in each industry, white and black, should cease to be a mere slogan of propaganda, and must become a slogan of action

Party Trade Union Work Among Negroes

9 While organizing the Negroes into unions and conducting an aggressive struggle against the anti-Negro trade union policy of the A.F. of L., the Party must pay more attention than it has hitherto done to the work in the Negro workers' organizations, such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Chicago Asphalt Workers' Union, and so on The existence of two million Negro workers and the further industrialization of the Negroes demand a radical change in the work of the Party among the Negroes The creation of working class organizations and the extension of our influence in the existing working class Negro organizations, are of much greater importance than the work in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Pan African Congress, etc

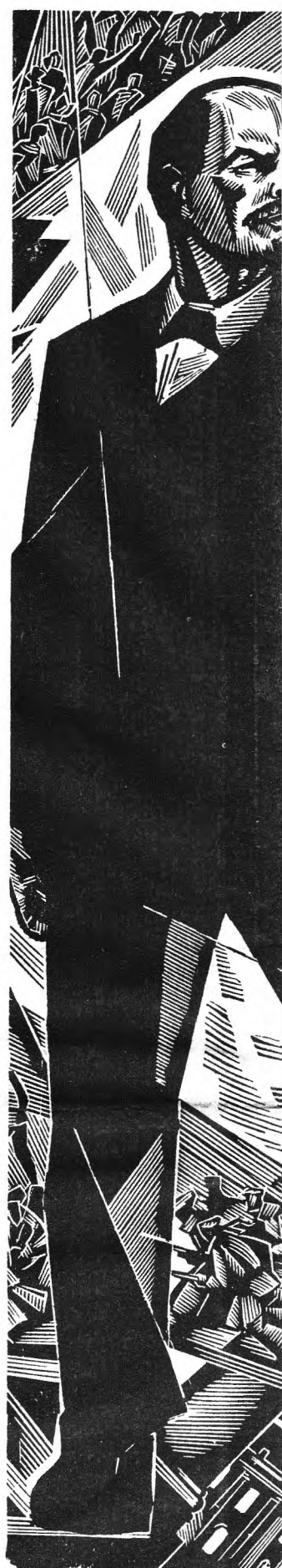
10 The American Negro Labor Congress continues to exist only nominally Every effort should be made to strengthen this organization as a medium through which we can extend the work of the Party among the Negro masses and mobilize the Negro workers under our leadership After careful preparatory work, which must be started at once, another convention of the American Negro Labor Congress should be held A concrete plan must also be presented to the Congress for an intensified struggle for the economic, social, political and national demands of the Negro masses The program of the American Negro Labor Congress must deal specially with the agrarian demands of the Negro farmers and tenants in the south

11 The importance of trade union work imposes special tasks upon the Trade Union Educational League The T.U.E.L. has completely neglected the work among the Negro workers notwithstanding the fact that these workers are objectively in a position to play a very great part in carrying through the program of organizing the unorganized The closest contact must be established between the T.U.E.L. and the Negro masses The T.U.E.L. must become the champion in the struggle for the rights of the Negroes in the old unions and in the organizing of new unions for both Negroes and whites, as well as separate Negro unions

White Chauvinism Evidenced in the American Party

The C.E.C. of the American Communist Party itself stated in its resolution of April 30, 1928, that "the Party as a whole

The National



"IN THE UNITED STATES ALSO THE MULATTOES ARE FOR ONLY 11.1%. THE AS AN OPPRESSED NATION WON IN THE CIVIL WAR ANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION WAS IN MANY RESPECTS CURTAILED IN THE CHANGING SOUTH) IN CONNECTION FROM THE PROGRESSIVE CAPITALISM OF 1860-70 TO MONOPOLY CAPITALISM (THE NEW ERA, WHICH IN AMERICA SHARPLY ETCHED OUT THE CAN IMPERIALIST WAR BETWEEN TWO ROBBERS OF THE BOOTY." pp 275-6)

"... ALL COMMUNIST PARTY DER DIRECT AID TO THE MOVEMENTS AMONG THE PRIVILEGED NATIONS OF THE LAND, THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES." (p. 148)

the leadership of the Communist Party, and thrown into struggle together with the white workers. The Party must combine all demands of the Negroes with the economic and political struggle of the workers and the poor farmers.

American Negro Question Part of World Problem

The Negro question in the United States must be treated in connection with the Negro questions and struggles in other parts of the world. The Negro race everywhere is an oppressed race. It is a minority (U.S.A., etc.), majority (South Africa, etc.), or a so-called independent state (Liberia, etc.), but it is always oppressed by imperialism. Thus, a common tie of the Negroes is established for the revolutionary struggle of race and national liberation from imperialist domination of the Negroes in all parts of the world. A strong Negro revolutionary movement in the U.S.A. will be able to influence and direct the revolutionary movement in all those parts of the world where Negroes are oppressed by imperialism.

The proletarianization of the Negro masses makes the unions the principal form of mass organization. It is the task of the Party to play an active part and lead in the organizing of the Negro workers and agricultural laborers into unions. Owing to the refusal of the majority of the unions in the U.S.A., led by the reactionary leaders, to admit Negroes to membership, steps must be immediately taken to set up special unions for those Negro workers who are not to join the white unions. At the same time, however, efforts must be made for the inclusion of Negro workers in the existing unions. This must be intensified and concentrated upon, special efforts must be given to those unions in which the statutes do not set up special limitations against the admission of Negro workers. Primary duty of Communist Party in this connection is to wage a merciless struggle against the A.F. of L. policy, which prevents the Negro workers from joining the workers' unions. The organization of special trade unions for the Negro masses must be carried out as part and parcel of the struggle against the restrictions imposed upon the Negro workers and for their admission to the white workers' unions. The creation of separate Negro unions should in no way hinder the struggle in the old unions for the admission of Negroes on equal terms. Every effort must be made to see that the new unions organized by the Left wing and by the Communist Party should embrace the workers of all nationalities of all races. The principle of one union for all workers in each industry, white and black, should cease to be a slogan of propaganda, and must become a slogan of action.

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While organizing the Negroes into unions and conducting the revolutionary struggle against the anti Negro trade union policy of the A.F. of L., the Party must pay more attention than it has paid heretofore to the work in the Negro workers' organizations, such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Chicago Negro Workers' Union, and so on. The existence of two separate unions for Negro workers and the further industrialization of the Negro masses demand a radical change in the work of the Party among the Negroes. The creation of working class organizations and the extension of our influence in the existing working class organizations, are of much greater importance than the work among the petty bourgeois and petty bourgeois organizations, such as the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Negro Congress, etc.

The American Negro Labor Congress continues to exist nominally. Every effort should be made to strengthen its organization as a medium through which we can extend the influence of the Party among the Negro masses and mobilize the workers under our leadership. After careful preparatory work must be started at once, another convention of the American Negro Labor Congress should be held. A concrete program should also be presented to the Congress for an intensified struggle for the economic, social, political and national demands of the Negro masses. The program of the American Negro Labor Congress must deal specially with the agrarian demands of the Negro workers and tenants in the south.

The importance of trade union work imposes special attention on the Trade Union Educational League. The T.U.E.L. has completely neglected the work among the Negro workers. Recognizing the fact that these workers are objectively in a position to play a very great part in carrying through the revolutionary struggle, the Party must organize the closest contact and collaboration between the T.U.E.L. and the Negro masses. The T.U.E.L. must become the champion in the struggle for the liberation of the Negroes in the old unions and in the organizing of unions for both Negroes and whites, as well as separate unions for Negroes.

Chauvinism Evidenced in the American Party

The E.C. of the American Communist Party itself stated in its resolution of April 30, 1928, that "the Party as a whole

The Black National Question



"IN THE UNITED STATES, THE NEGROES (AND ALSO THE MULATTOES AND INDIANS) ACCOUNT FOR ONLY 11.1%. THEY SHOULD BE CLASSED AS AN OPPRESSED NATION, FOR THE EQUALITY WON IN THE CIVIL WAR OF 1861-65 AND GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC WAS IN MANY RESPECTS INCREASINGLY CURTAILED IN THE CHIEF NEGRO AREAS (THE SOUTH) IN CONNECTION WITH THE TRANSITION FROM THE PROGRESSIVE, PRE-MONOPOLY CAPITALISM OF 1860-70 TO THE REACTIONARY, MONOPOLY CAPITALISM (IMPERIALISM OF THE NEW ERA, WHICH IN AMERICA WAS ESPECIALLY SHARPLY ETCHED OUT BY THE SPANISH-AMERICAN IMPERIALIST WAR OF 1898, i.e., A WAR BETWEEN TWO ROBBERS OVER THE DIVISION OF THE BOOTY." (Lenin, CW, vol. 23, pp. 275-6)

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has not sufficiently realized the significance of work among the Negroes." Such an attitude toward the Party work among the Negroes is, however, not satisfactory. The time is ripe to launch within the Party a courageous campaign of self-criticism concerning the work among the Negroes. Penetrating criticism is the necessary preliminary condition for directing Negro work along new lines.

13 The Party must bear in mind that white chauvinism, which is the expression of the ideological influence of American imperialism among the workers, not only prevails among the different strata of the white workers in the U.S.A., but is also reflected in various forms in the Party itself. White chauvinism has manifested itself even in open antagonism of the white comrades to the Negro comrades. In some instances the white Communists were called upon to champion and to lead in the most vigorous manner the fight against white chauvinism, but instead yielded to it. In Gary white members of the Workers' Party protested against Negroes eating in the restaurant controlled by the Party. In Detroit Party members yielded to the pressure, drove out Negro comrades from a social given in the miners on strike.

Whilst the Party has taken certain measures against the manifestations of white chauvinism, nevertheless those manifestations must be regarded as indications of race prejudice in the ranks of the Party which must be fought with the utmost energy.

14 An aggressive fight against all forms of white chauvinism must be accompanied by a widespread and thorough educational campaign in the spirit of internationalism within the Party, utilizing for this purpose to the fullest possible extent the Party schools, the Party press and the public platform to stamp out all forms of antagonism or even indifference among our comrades toward the Negro work. This educational work should be conducted simultaneously with a campaign to draw the white workers and the poor farmers into the struggle for the support of the demands of the Negro workers.

Tasks of Party in Relation to Negro Work

15 The Communist Party of the U.S.A. in its treatment of the Negro question must all the time bear in mind a twofold task:

(a) To fight for the full rights of the oppressed Negroes and for their right to self-determination and against all forms of white chauvinism, especially among the workers of the oppressed nationality.

(b) The propaganda and the day to day practice of international class solidarity must be considered as one of the basic tasks of the American Communist Party. The fight for propaganda and by deeds—should be directed first and foremost against the chauvinism of the workers of the oppressed nationality as well as against bourgeois segregation tendencies among the oppressed nationality. The propaganda of international class solidarity is the necessary prerequisite for the unity of the working class in the struggle.

"The center of gravity in educating the workers of the oppressing countries in the principles of internationalism must inevitably consist in the propaganda and defense by these workers of the right of self-determination by the oppressed countries. We have the right and duty to treat every socialist of an oppressing nation who does not conduct such propaganda, as an imperialist and as a scoundrel." (Lenin, selected articles on the national question)

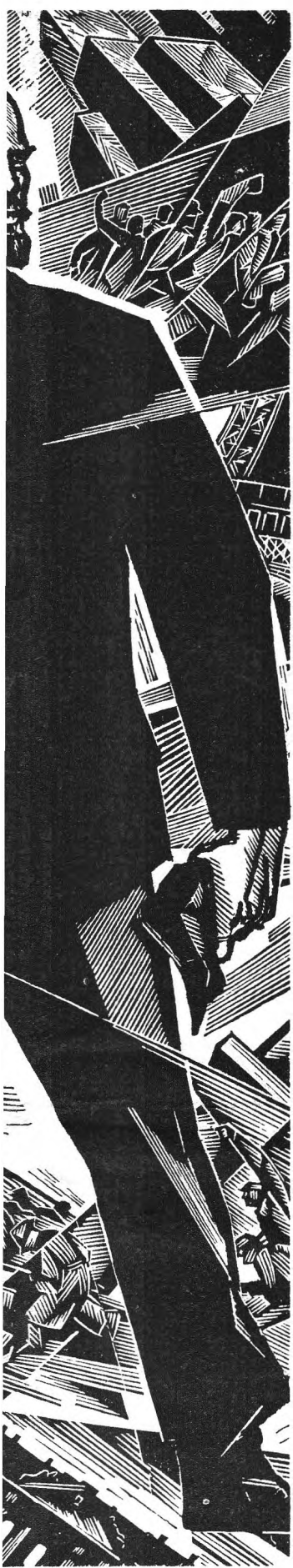
16 The Party must seriously take up the task of training a cadre of Negro comrades as leaders, bring them into the Party schools in the U.S.A. and abroad, and make every effort to draw Negro proletarians into active and leading work in the Party, not confining the activities of the Negro comrades exclusively to the work among Negroes. Simultaneously, white workers must specially be trained for work among the Negroes.

17 Efforts must be made to transform the 'Negro Champion' into a weekly mass organ of the Negro proletarians and tenant farmers. Every encouragement and inducement must be given to the Negro comrades to utilize the Party organ generally.

Negro Work Part of General Work of Party

18 The Party must link up the struggle on behalf of the Negroes with the general campaigns of the Party. The Negro problem must be part and parcel of all and every campaign conducted by the Party. In the election campaigns, trade union work, the campaigns for the organization of the unorganized, anti-imperialist work, labor party campaign, International Labor Defense, etc., the Central Executive Committee must work out plans designed to draw the Negroes into active participation in all these campaigns, and at the same time to bring the white workers into the struggle on behalf of the Negroes' demands. It must be borne in mind that the Negro masses will not be brought into the revolutionary struggles until such time as the conscious section of the white workers show by action

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they are fighting with the Negroes against all racial discrimination and persecution. Every member of the Party must bear in mind that "the age long oppression of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has given rise to a feeling of bitterness among the masses of the enslaved countries as well as a feeling of distrust toward the oppressing nations in general and toward the proletariat of those nations" (See resolution on Colonial and National Question of Second Congress).

19 The Negro women in industry and on the farms constitute a powerful potential force in the struggle for Negro emancipation. By reason of being unorganized to an even greater extent than male Negro workers they are the most exploited section. The A.F. of L. bureaucracy naturally exercises toward them a double hostility by reason of both their color and sex. It therefore becomes an important task of the Party to bring the Negro women into the economic and political struggle.

20 Only by an active and strenuous fight on the part of the white workers against all forms of oppression directed against the Negroes will the Party be able to draw into its ranks the most active and conscious Negro workers—men and women—and to increase its influence in those intermediary organizations which are necessary for the mobilization of the Negro masses in the struggle against segregation, lynching, Jim Crowism etc.

21 In the present struggle in the mining industry the Negro workers participate actively and in large numbers. The leading role the Party played in this struggle has helped greatly to increase its prestige. Nevertheless the special efforts being made by the Party in the work among the Negro strikers cannot be considered as adequate. The Party did not send enough Negro organizers into the coalfields, and it did not sufficiently attempt in the first stages of the fight to develop the most able Negro strikers and to place them in leading positions. The Party must be especially criticized for its failure to put Negro workers on the Presidium of the Pittsburgh Miners Conference doing so only after such representation was demanded by the Negroes themselves.

22 In the work among the Negroes special attention should be paid to the role played by the churches and preachers who are acting on behalf of American imperialism. The Party must conduct a continuous and carefully worked out campaign among the Negro masses, sharpened primarily against the preachers and the churchmen who are the agents of the oppressors of the Negro race.

Party Work Among Negro Proletariat and Peasantry

23 The Party must apply united front tactics for specific demands to the existing Negro petty bourgeois organizations. The purpose of these united front tactics should be the mobilizing of the Negro masses under the leadership of the Party and to expose the treacherous petty bourgeois leadership of those organizations.

24 The Negro Miners Relief Committee and the Harlem Tenants League are examples of joint organizations of action which may serve as a means of drawing the Negro masses into struggle. In every case the utmost effort must be made to combine the struggle of the Negro workers with the struggle of the white workers and to draw the white workers' organizations into such joint campaigns.

25 In order to reach the bulk of the Negro masses special attention should be paid to the work among the Negroes in the South. For that purpose, the Party should establish a district organization in the most suitable locality in the South. Whilst continuing trade union work among the Negro workers and the agricultural laborers, special organizations of tenant farmers must be set up. Special efforts must also be made to secure the support of the share croppers in the creation of such organizations. The Party must undertake the task of working out a definite program of immediate demands directed against all slave remnants, which will serve as the rallying slogans for the formation of such peasant organizations.

Henceforth the Workers (Communist) Party must consider the struggle on behalf of the Negro masses, the task of organizing the Negro workers and peasants and the drawing of these oppressed masses into the proletarian revolutionary struggle, as one of its major tasks, remembering, in the words of the Second Congress resolution, that "the victory over capitalism cannot be fully achieved and carried to its ultimate goal unless the proletariat and the toiling masses of all nations of the world rally of their own accord in a concordant and close union" (Political Secretariat, Communist International Moscow U.S.S.R., Oct 26, 1928).

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II THE 1930 COMINTERN RESOLUTION ON THE NEGRO QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES

(Final Text, confirmed by the Political Secretariat of the ECCI, October 26, 1930)

The C P of the United States has always acted openly and energetically against negro oppression, and has thereby won increasing sympathy among the Negro population. In its own ranks, too, the Party has relentlessly fought the slightest evidences of white chauvinism, and has purged itself of the gross opportunism of the Lovestoneites. According to the assertions of these people, the "industrial revolution" will sweep away the remnants of slavery in the agricultural South, and will proletarianise the Negro peasantry, so that the Negro question, as a special national question, would thereby be presumably solved, or could be put off until the time of the socialist revolution in America. But the Party has not yet succeeded in overcoming in its own ranks all under estimation of the struggle for the slogan of the right of self determination, and still less succeeded in doing away with all *lack of clarity* on the Negro question. In the Party discussion the question was often wrongly put and much erroneous counter poisoning of phases of the question occurred, thus, for instance, should the slogan of social equality or the slogan of the right of self determination of the Negroes be emphasised. Should only propaganda for the Negroes' right to self determination be carried on, or should this slogan be considered as a slogan of action, should separatist tendencies among the Negroes be supported or opposed, is the Southern region, thickly populated by Negroes, to be looked upon as a colony, or as an "integral part of the national economy of the United States," where presumably a revolutionary situation cannot arise independent of the general revolutionary development in the United States?

In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely as the question of an *oppressed nation*, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily distressing situation of national oppression not only in view of the prominent *racial distinctions* (marked difference in the colour of skin, etc.), but above all because of considerable *social antagonism* (remnants of slavery). This introduces into the American Negro question an important, *peculiar* trait which is absent from the national question of other oppressed peoples. Furthermore, it is necessary to face clearly the inevitable distinction between the position of the Negro in the *South* and in the *North*, owing to the fact that at least three fourths of the entire Negro population of the United States (12 million) live in compact masses in the South, most of them being peasants and agricultural labourers in a state of semi serfdom, settled in the "Black Belt" and constituting the majority of the population, whereas the Negroes in the Northern States are for the most part industrial workers of the lowest categories who have recently come to the various industrial centres from the South (having often even fled from there).

The struggle of the Communists for the *equal rights* of the Negroes applies to all Negroes, in the North as well as in the South. The struggle for this slogan embraces all or almost all of the important special interests of the Negroes in the North, but not in the South, where the main Communist slogan must be *The right of self determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt*. These two slogans, however, are most closely connected. The Negroes in the North are very much interested in winning the right of self determination for the Negro population of the Black Belt and can thereby hope for strong support for the establishment of true equality of the Negroes in the North. In the South the Negroes are suffering no less but still more than in the North from the glaring lack of all equality, for the most part the struggle for their most urgent partial demands in the Black Belt is nothing more than the struggle for their equal rights, and only the fulfilment of their main slogan, the right of self determination in the Black Belt, can assure them of true equality.

I The Struggle for the Equal Rights of the Negroes

2 The basis for the demand of equality of the Negroes is provided by the *special yoke* to which the Negroes in the United States are subjected by the ruling classes. In comparison with the situation of the other various nationalities and faces oppressed by American imperialism, the yoke of the Negroes in the United States is of a peculiar nature and particularly oppressive. This is partly due to the historical past of the American Negroes as imported slaves but is much more due to the still existing slavery of the American Negro which is immediately apparent, for example, in comparing their situation even with the situation of the Chinese and Japanese workers in the West of the United States, or with the lot of the Philipinos (Malay race) who are under colonial repression.

It is only a Yankee bourgeois lie to say that the yoke of Negro slavery has been lifted in the United States. Formally it

has been abolished, but in practice the great majority of the Negro masses in the South are living in slavery in the literal sense of the word. Formally, they are "free" as "tenant farmers" or "contract labourers" on the big plantations of the white landowners, but actually, they are completely in the power of their exploiters, they are not permitted or else it is made impossible for them to leave their exploiters if they do leave the plantations they are brought back and in many cases whipped, many of them are simply taken prisoner under various pretexts and, bound together with long chains, they have to do compulsory labour on the roads. All through the South, the Negroes are not only deprived of all rights and subjected to the arbitrary will of the white exploiters, but they are also socially ostracised, that is, they are treated in general not as human beings, but as cattle. But this ostracism regarding Negroes is not limited to the South. Not only in the South but throughout the United States, the lynching of Negroes is permitted to go unpunished. Everywhere the American bourgeoisie surrounds the Negroes with an atmosphere of social ostracism.

The 100 per cent Yankee arrogance divides the American population into a series of castes, among which the Negroes constitute, so to speak, the caste of the "untouchables," who are in a still lower category than the lowest categories of human society, the immigrant labourers, the yellow immigrants and the Indians. In all big cities the Negroes have to live in special segregated ghettos (and, of course, have to pay extremely high rent). In practice, marriage between Negroes and whites is prohibited, and in the South this is even forbidden by law. In various other ways, the Negroes are segregated, and if they overstep the bounds of the segregation they immediately run the risk of being ill treated by the 100 per cent bandits. As wage earners, the Negroes are forced to perform the lowest and most difficult work, they generally receive lower wages than the white workers and don't always get the same wages as white workers doing similar work, and their treatment is the very worst. Many A F of L trade unions do not admit Negro workers in their ranks, and a number have organised special trade unions for Negroes so that they will not have to let them into their "good white society."

This whole system of "segregation" and "Jim Crowism" is a special form of national and social oppression under which the American Negroes have much to suffer. The origin of all this is not difficult to find: this Yankee arrogance towards the Negroes stinks of the disgusting atmosphere of the old slave market. This is downright robbery and slave whipping barbarism at the peak of capitalist "culture."

3 The demand for equal rights in our sense of the word means not only demanding the same rights for the Negroes as the whites have in the United States at the present time, but also demanding that the Negroes should be granted all rights and other advantages which we demand for the corresponding oppressed classes of whites (workers and other toilers). Thus in our sense of the word, the demand for equal rights means a continuous work of abolishment of all forms of economic and political oppression of the Negroes, as well as their social exclusion, the insults perpetrated against them and their segregation. This is to be obtained by constant struggle by the white and black workers for effective legal protection for the Negroes in all fields, as well as actual enforcement of their equality and combating of every expression of Negrophobia. One of the first Communist slogans is Death for Negro lynching!

The struggle for the equal rights of the Negroes does not in any way exclude recognition and support for the Negroes' rights to their own special schools, government organs, etc., wherever the Negro masses put forward such national demands of their own accord. This will, however, in all probability occur to any great extent only in the Black Belt. In other parts of the country, the Negroes suffer above all from being shut out from the general social institutions and not from being prohibited to set up their own national institutions. With the development of the Negro intellectuals (principally in the "free" professions) and of a thin layer of small capitalist business people there have appeared lately, not only definite efforts for developing a purely national Negro culture but also outspoken bourgeois tendencies towards Negro nationalism. The broad masses of the Negro population in the big industrial centres of the North are, however, making no efforts whatsoever to maintain and cultivate a national aloofness, they are, on the contrary, working for assimilation. This effort of the Negro masses can do much in the future to facilitate the progressive process of amalgamating the whites and Negroes into one nation, and it is under no circumstances the task of the Communists to give support to bourgeois nationalism in its fight with the progressive assimilation tendencies of the Negro working masses.

4 The slogan of equal rights of the Negroes without a *relentless struggle in practice against all manifestations of Negrophobia on the part of the American bourgeoisie* can be nothing but a deceptive liberal gesture of a sly slave owner or



his agent This slogan is in fact repeated by "socialist" and many other bourgeois politicians and philanthropists who want divisions within the working class, which contributes to the bolstering up of American capitalist rule. The Party must carry on a ruthless struggle against all these attempts of the bourgeoisie and do everything to strengthen the bonds of class solidarity of the working class upon a lasting basis.

To get publicity for themselves by appealing to the "sense of justice" of the American bourgeoisie in the individual treatment of the Negroes, and thereby side track attention from the one effective struggle against the shameful system of "white superiority" from the *class struggle against the American bourgeoisie*. The struggle for equal rights for the Negroes is in fact, one of the most important parts of the proletarian class struggle of the United States.

The struggle for the equal rights for the Negroes must certainly take the form of common struggle by the white and black workers.

The increasing unity of the various working class elements provokes constant attempts on the part of the American bourgeoisie to play one group against another particularly the white workers against the black and the black workers against the immigrant workers and vice versa, and thus to promote

In the struggle for equal rights for the Negroes, however it is the duty of the *white* workers to march at the head on this struggle. They must everywhere make a breach in the walls of segregation and "Jim Crowism" which have been set up by bourgeois slave market morality. They must most ruthlessly unmask and condemn the hypocritical reformists and bourgeois "friends of Negroes" who, in reality, are only interested in strengthening the power of the enemies of the Negroes. They, the white workers, must boldly jump at the throat of the 100 per cent bandits who strike a Negro in the face. This struggle will be the test of the real international solidarity of the American white workers.

It is the special duty of the revolutionary Negro workers to carry on tireless activity among the Negro working masses to free them of their distrust of the white proletariat and draw them into the common front of the revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie. They must emphasise with all force that the first rule of proletarian morality is that no worker who wants to be an equal member of *his class* must ever serve as a strike breaker or a supporter of bourgeois politics. They must ruthlessly unmask all Negro politicians corrupted or directly bribed by American bourgeois ideology, who systematically interfere with the real proletarian struggle for the equal rights for the Negroes.

Furthermore, the Communist Party must resist all tendencies within its own ranks to ignore the Negro question as a national question in the United States, not only in the South but also in the North. It is advisable for the Communist Party in the North to abstain from the establishment of any special Negro organisations, and in place of this to bring the black and white workers together in common organisations of struggle and joint action. Effective steps must be taken for the organisation of Negro workers in the T U U L and revolutionary trade unions. Under estimation of this work takes various forms: lack of energy in recruiting Negro workers, in keeping them in our ranks and in drawing them into the full life of the trade unions; in selecting, educating and promoting Negro forces to leading functions in the organisation. The Party must make itself entirely responsible for the carrying through of this very important work. It is most urgently necessary to publish a popular mass paper dealing with the Negro question, edited by white and black comrades, and to have all active followers of this paper grouped organisationally.

2 The Struggle for the Right of Self determination of the Negroes in the Black Belt

5 It is not correct to consider the Negro zone of the South as a colony of the United States. Such a characterisation of the Black Belt could be based in some respects only upon artificially construed analogies and would create superfluous difficulties for the clarification of ideas. In rejecting this estimation, however, it should not be overlooked that it would be none the less false to try to make a fundamental distinction between the character of national oppression to which the colonial peoples are subjected and the yoke of other oppressed nations. Fundamentally, national oppression in both cases is of the same character, and is in the Black Belt in many respects worse than in a number of actual colonies. On the one hand the Black Belt is not in itself, either economically or politically such a united whole as to warrant its being called a special colony of the United States, but on the other hand this zone is not, either economically or politically such an integral part of the whole United States as any other part of the country. Industrialisation in the Black Belt is not as is generally the case in colonies properly speaking in contradiction with the ruling interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, which has in its hands the monopoly of the entire industry, but in so far as industry is developed here, it will in no way bring a solution to the question of living conditions of the oppressed Negro majority,

or to the agrarian question which lies at the basis of the national question. On the contrary this question is still further aggravated as a result of the increase of the contradictions arising from the pre capitalist forms of exploitation of the Negro peasantry and of a considerable portion of the Negro proletariat (miners, forestry workers, etc.) in the Black Belt and at the same time owing to the industrial development here the growth of the most important driving force of the national revolution the black working class is especially strengthened. Thus the prospect for the future is not an inevitable dying away of the national revolutionary Negro movement in the South as Lovestone prophesied but on the contrary a great advance of this movement and the rapid approach of a revolutionary crisis in the Black Belt.

6 Owing to the peculiar situation in the Black Belt (the fact that the majority of the resident Negro population are farmers and agricultural labourers and that the capitalist economic system as well as political class rule there is not only of a special kind but to a great extent still has pre capitalist and semi colonial features) the right of self determination of the Negroes as the *main slogan* of the Communist Party in the Black Belt is appropriate. This however does not in any way mean that the struggle for equal rights of the Negroes in the Black Belt is less necessary or less well founded than it is in the North. On the contrary here owing to the whole situation this struggle is even better founded but the form of this slogan does not sufficiently correspond with the *concrete* requirements of the liberation struggle of the Negro population. Anyway it is clear that in most cases it is a question of the daily conflicts of interest between the Negroes and the white rulers in the Black Belt on the subject of infringement of the most elementary equality rights of the Negroes by the whites. Daily events of the kind are all Negro persecutions, all arbitrary economic acts of robbery by the white exploiters (Black Man's Burden) and the whole system of so called 'Jim Crowism'. Here however it is very important in connection with all these concrete cases of conflict to concentrate the attention of the Negro masses not so much to the general demands of mere equality but much more to some of the revolutionary *basic demands* arising from the concrete situation.

The slogan of the right of self determination occupies the central place in the liberation struggle of the Negro population in the Black Belt against the yoke of American imperialism but this slogan as we see it must be carried out only in connection with two other basic demands. Thus, there are three basic demands to be kept in mind in the Black Belt namely the following:

(1) *Confiscation of the landed property of the white landowners and capitalists for the benefit of the Negro farmers.* The landed property in the hands of the white American exploiters constitutes the most important material basis of the entire system of national oppression and serfdom of the Negroes in the Black Belt. More than three quarters of all Negro farmers here are bound in actual serfdom to the farms and plantations of the white exploiters by the feudal system of 'share cropping'. Only on paper and not in practice are they freed from the yoke of their former slavery. The same holds completely true for the great mass of black contract labourers,



here the contract is only the capitalist expression of the chains of the old slavery, which even to day are not infrequently applied in their natural iron form on the roads of the Black Belt (chain gang work). These are the main forms of present Negro slavery in the Black Belt and no breaking of the chains of this slavery is possible without confiscating all the landed property of the white masters. Without this revolutionary measure, without the agrarian revolution, the right of self determination of the Negro population would be only a Utopia, or at best would remain only on paper without changing in any way the actual enslavement.

(2) *Establishment of the State Unity of the Black Belt.* At the present time this Negro zone—precisely for the purpose of facilitating national oppression—is artificially split up and divided into a number of various states which include distant localities having a majority of white population. If the right of self determination of the Negroes is to be put into force, it is necessary wherever possible to bring together into one governmental unit all districts of the South where the majority of the settled population consists of Negroes. Within the limits of this state there will of course remain a fairly significant white minority which must submit to the right of self determination of the Negro majority. There is no other possible way of



carrying out in a democratic manner the right of self determination of the Negroes. Every plan regarding the establishment of the Negro State with an exclusively Negro population in America (and, of course, still more exporting it to Africa) is nothing but an unreal and reactionary caricature of the fulfilment of the right of self determination of the Negroes and every attempt to isolate and transport the Negroes would have the most damaging effect upon their interests, above all, it would violate the right of the Negro farmers in the Black Belt not only to their present residences and their land but also to the land owned by the white landlords and cultivated by Negro labour.

(3) *Right of Self Determination* This means complete and unlimited right of the Negro majority to exercise governmental authority in the entire territory of the Black Belt, as well as to decide upon the relations between their territory and other nations, particularly the United States. It would not be right of self determination in our sense of the word if the Negroes in the Black Belt had the right of determination only in cases which concerned *exclusively* the Negroes and did not affect the whites, because the most important cases arising here are bound to affect the Negroes as well as the whites. First of all, true right to self determination means that the Negro majority and not the white minority in the entire territory of the administratively united Black Belt exercises the right of administering governmental, legislative and judicial authority. At the present time all this power here is concentrated in the hands of the white bourgeoisie and landlords. It is they who appoint all officials, it is they who dispose of public property, it is they who determine the taxes, it is they who govern and make the laws. Therefore, *the overthrow of this class rule* in the Black Belt is unconditionally necessary in the struggle for the Negroes' right to self determination. This, however, means at the same time the overthrow of the yoke of American imperialism in the Black Belt on which the forces of the local white bourgeoisie depend. Only in this way, only if the Negro population of the Black Belt wins its freedom from American imperialism even to the point of deciding *itself* the relations between its country and other governments, especially the United States, will it win real and complete self determination. One should demand from the beginning that no armed forces of American imperialism should remain on the territory of the Black Belt.

7 As stated in the letter of the Polit. Secretariat of the E C C I of March 16th, 1930, the Communists must "*unreservedly* carry on a struggle" for the self determination of the Negro population in the Black Belt in accordance with what has been set forth above. It is incorrect and harmful to interpret the Communist standpoint to mean that the Communists stand for the right of self determination of the Negroes only up to a certain point, but not beyond this, for example, to the right of separation. It is also incorrect to say that the Communists are so far only to carry on propaganda or agitation for the right of self determination, but not to develop any activity to bring this about. No, it is of the utmost importance for the Communist Party to reject any such limitation of its struggle for this slogan. Even if the situation does not yet warrant the raising of the question of uprising, one should not limit oneself at present to propaganda for the demand "Right to self-determination," but should organise mass actions, such as demonstrations, strikes, tax boycott movements, etc.

Moreover, the Party cannot make its stand for this slogan dependent upon any conditions, even the condition that the proletariat has the hegemony in the national revolutionary Negro movement or that the majority of the Negroes in the Black Belt adopts the Soviet form (as Pepper demanded), etc. It goes without saying that the Communists in the Black Belt will convince them not only that they must win the right of self determination, but also that they must make use of this right in accordance with the Communist programme. But this cannot be made a *condition* for the stand of the Communists in favour of the right of self determination of the Negro population if, or so long as the majority of this population wishes to handle the situation in the Black Belt in a different manner from that which we Communists would like. Its complete right to self determination must be recognised. This right we must defend as a free democratic right.

8 In general, the C P. of the United States has kept to this correct line recently in its struggle for the right of self determination of the Negroes even though this line—in some cases—has been unclearly or erroneously expressed. In particular some misunderstanding has arisen from the failure to make a clear distinction between the demand for "right of self determination" and the demand for governmental separation, simply treating these two demands in the same way. However, these two demands are not identical. Complete right to self determination includes also the right to governmental separation, but does not necessarily imply that the Negro population should and must try to win over all working elements of the Negroes, that is the majority of the population, to their side and to

make use of this right under all circumstances, that is, that it must actually separate or attempt to separate the Black Belt from the existing governmental federation with the United States. If it desires to separate it must be free to do so, but if it prefers to remain federated with the United States it must also be free to do that. This is the correct meaning of the idea of self determination and it must be recognised quite independently of whether the United States are still a capitalist state or if a proletarian dictatorship has already been established there.

It is, however, another matter if it is not a case of the *right* of the oppressed nation concerned to separate or to maintain governmental contact, but if the question is treated on its merits, whether it is to work for state separation, whether it is to struggle *for this* or not. This is another question, on which the stand of the Communists must vary according to the concrete conditions. If the proletariat has come into power in the United States, the Communist Negroes will not come out for but *against* separation of the Negro Republic federation with the United States. But the *right* of the Negroes to governmental separation will be *unconditionally realised* by the Communist Party, it will unconditionally give the Negro population of the Black Belt freedom of choice even on this question. Only when the proletariat has come into power in the United States the Communists will carry on propaganda among the working masses of the Negro population against separation, in order to convince them that it is much better and in the interest of the Negro nation for the Black Belt to be a free republic, where the Negro majority has complete right of self determination but remains governmentally federated with the great proletarian republic of the United States. The bourgeois counterrevolutionists on the other hand will then be interested in boosting the separation tendencies in the ranks of the various nationalities in order to utilise separatist nationalism as a barrier for the bourgeois counterrevolution against the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship.

But the question at the present time is not this. As long as capitalism rules in the United States the Communists cannot come out against governmental separation of the Negro zone from the United States. They recognise that this separation from the imperialist United States would be preferable from the standpoint of the national interests of the Negro population, to their present oppressed state, and therefore, the Communists are ready at any time to offer all their support if only the working masses of the Negro population are ready to take up the struggle for governmental independence of the Black Belt. At the present time, however, the situation in the national struggle in the South is not such as to win mass support of the working Negroes for this separatist struggle and it is not the task of the Communists to call upon them to separate without taking into consideration the existing situation and the desires of the Negro masses.

The situation in the Negro question of the United States however, may undergo a radical change. It is even probable that the separatist efforts to obtain complete State independence of the Black Belt will gain ground among the Negro masses of the South in the near future. This is connected with the prospective sharpening of the national conflicts in the South, with the advance of the national revolutionary Negro movement and with the exceptionally brutal fascist aggressiveness of the white exploiters of the South, as well as with the support of this aggressiveness by the central government authority of the United States. In this sharpening of the situation in the South, Negro separatism will presumably increase, and the question of the independence of the Black Belt will become the question of the day. Then the Communist Party must also face this question and, if the circumstances seem favourable, must stand up with all strength and courage for the struggle to win independence and for the establishment of a Negro republic in the Black Belt.

9 The general relation of Communists to separatist tendencies among the Negroes, described above, cannot mean that Communists associate themselves at present, or generally speaking, during capitalism, indiscriminately and without criticism with all the separatist currents of the various bourgeois or petty bourgeois Negro groups. For there is not only a national revolutionary, but also a reactionary Negro separatism, for instance, that represented by Garvey, his Utopia of an isolated Negro State (regardless if in Africa or America, if it is supposed to consist of Negroes only) pursues the only political aim of diverting the Negro masses from the real liberation struggle against American imperialism.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the right of self determination slogan is a truly revolutionary slogan only in connection with the demand for complete separation. *The question of power is decided not only through* the demand of separation, but just as much through the demand of the *right* to decide the separation question and self determination in general. A direct question of power is also the demand of confiscation of the land of the white exploiters in the South, as well as the demand of the Negroes that the entire Black Belt be amalga-

(Cont. p 17)





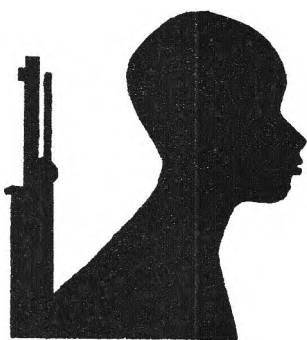
mated into a State unit

Hereby, every single fundamental demand of the liberation struggle of the Negroes in the Black Belt is such that—if once thoroughly understood by the Negro masses and adopted as their slogan—it will lead them into the struggle for the overthrow of the power of the ruling bourgeoisie, which is impossible without such revolutionary struggle. One cannot deny that it is just possible for the Negro population of the Black Belt to win the right to self determination already during capitalism, but it is perfectly clear and indubitable that this is possible only through successful revolutionary struggle for power against the American bourgeoisie, through *wresting* the Negroes' right to self determination from the American imperialism. Thus, the slogan of right to self determination is a real slogan of national rebellion which to be considered as such need not be supplemented by proclaiming struggle for the complete separation of the Negro zone, at least not at present. But it must be made perfectly clear to the Negro masses that the slogan "right to self determination" includes the demand of full freedom for them to decide even the question of complete separation. "We demand freedom of separation, real right to self determination"—wrote Lenin "certainly not in order to recommend separation, but on the contrary, in order to facilitate and accelerate the democratic rapprochement and unification of nations." For the same purpose, Lenin's Party, the C P. of the Soviet Union, bestowed after its seizure of power on all the peoples hitherto oppressed by Russian Tsarism the full right to self determination, including the right of complete separation, and achieved thereby its enormous successes with regard to the democratic rapprochement and voluntary unification of nations.

10 The slogan for the self determination right and the other fundamental slogans of the Negro question in the Black Belt does not exclude but rather pre-supposes an energetic development of the struggle for concrete *partial demands* linked up with the daily needs and afflictions of wide masses of working Negroes. In order to avoid, in this connection, the danger of opportunist back slidings Communists must above all remember this

(a) The direct aims and partial demands around which a partial struggle develops are to be linked up in the course of the struggle with the revolutionary fundamental slogans brought up by the question of power in a popular manner corresponding to the mood of the masses. (Confiscation of the big land holdings, establishment of governmental unity of the Black Belt, right of self determination of the Negro population in the Black Belt.) Bourgeois socialist tendencies to oppose such a revolutionary widening and deepening of the fighting demands must be fought.

(b) One should not venture to draw up a complete programme of some kind or a system of 'positive' partial demands. Such programmes on the part of petty bourgeois politicians should be exposed as attempts to divert the masses from the necessary hard struggles by fostering reformist and



democratic illusions among them. Every positive partial demand which might crop up is to be considered from the viewpoint of whether it is in keeping with our revolutionary fundamental slogans, or whether it is of a reformist or reactionary tendency. Every kind of national oppression which arouses the indignation of the Negro masses can be used as a suitable point of departure for the development of partial struggles during which the abolition of such oppression, as well as their prevention through revolutionary struggle against the ruling exploiting dictatorship must be demanded.

(c) Everything should be done to bring wide masses of Negroes into these partial struggles—this is important—and not to carry the various partial demands to such an ultra radical point, that the mass of working Negroes are no longer able to recognise them as *their own*. Without a real mobilisation of the mass movements—in spite of the sabotage of the bourgeois reformist Negro politicians—even the best Communist partial demands get hung up. On the other hand, even some relatively insignificant acts of the Ku Klux Klan bandits in the Black Belt can become the occasion of important political movements, provided the Communists are able to organise the resistance of the indignant Negro masses. In such cases, mass movements of this kind can easily develop into real rebellion. This rests on the fact that—as Lenin said—"Every act of national oppression calls forth resistance on the part of the masses of the population, and

the tendency of every act of resistance on the part of oppressed peoples is the national uprising."

(d) Communists must fight in the *forefront* of the national liberation movement and must do their utmost for the progress of this mass movement and its revolutionisation. Negro Communists must *clearly dissociate* themselves from all bourgeois currents in the Negro movement, must indefatigably oppose the spread of the influence of the bourgeois groups on the working Negroes, and in dealing with them must apply the Communist tactic laid down by the Sixth C I Congress with regard to the colonial question, in order to guarantee the *hegemony of the Negro proletariat* in the national liberation movement of the Negro population and to co-ordinate wide masses of the Negro peasantry in a steady fighting alliance with the proletariat.

(e) One must work with the utmost energy for the establishment and consolidation of *Communist Party organisations and revolutionary trade unions* in the South. Furthermore, immediate measures must be taken for the organisation of proletarian and peasant *self defence* of whites and blacks against the Ku Klux Klan for this purpose the C P. is to give further instructions.

11 It is particularly incumbent on Negro Communists to criticise consistently the half heartedness and hesitations of the petty bourgeois national revolutionary Negro leaders in the liberation struggle of the Black Belt, exposing them before the masses. All national reformist currents as for instance Garveyism which are an obstacle to the revolutionisation of the Negro masses must be fought systematically and with the utmost energy. Simultaneously Negro Communists must carry on among the Negro masses an energetic struggle against nationalist moods directed indiscriminately against all whites, workers as well as capitalists, Communists as well as imperialists. Their constant call to the Negro masses must be *revolutionary struggle against the ruling white bourgeoisie, through a fighting alliance with the revolutionary white proletariat*. Negro Communists must indefatigably explain to the mass of the Negro population that even if many white workers in America are still infected with Negrophobia the American proletariat, as a class, which owing to its struggle against the American bourgeoisie represents the only truly revolutionary class, will be the only real mainstay of Negro liberation. In as far as successes in the national revolutionary struggle of the Negro population of the South for its right to self determination are already possible under capitalism they can be achieved only if this struggle is effectively supported by proletarian mass actions on a large scale in the other parts of the United States. But it is also clear that "only a victorious proletarian revolution will *finally* decide the agrarian question and the national question in the South of the United States, in the interest of the predominating mass of the Negro population of the country" (Colonial Theses of the Sixth World Congress).

12 The struggle regarding the Negro question in the North must be linked up with the liberation struggle in the South in order to endow the Negro movement throughout the United States with the necessary effective strength. After all in the North as well as in the South, it is a question of the real emancipation of the American Negroes which has in fact never taken place before. The Communist Party of the United States must bring into play its entire revolutionary energy in order to mobilise the widest possible masses of the white and black proletariat of the United States not by words, but by deeds, for real effective support of the struggle for the liberation of the Negroes. Enslavement of the Negroes is one of the most important foundations of the imperialist dictatorship of U.S.A. capitalism. The more American imperialism fastens its yoke on the millions strong negro masses, the more must the Communist Party develop the mass struggle for Negro emancipation, and the better use it must make of all conflicts which arise out of national differences, as an incentive for revolutionary mass actions against the bourgeoisie. This is as much in the direct interest of the proletarian revolution in America. Whether the rebellion of the Negroes is to be the outcome of a general revolutionary situation in the United States, whether it is to originate in the whirlpool of decisive fights for power by the working class, for proletarian dictatorship, or whether on the contrary, the Negro rebellion will be the prelude of gigantic struggles for power by the American proletariat, cannot be foretold now. But in either contingency, it is essential for the Communist Party to *make an energetic beginning already now* with the organisation of *joint mass struggles* of white and black workers against Negro oppression. This alone will enable us to get rid of the bourgeois white chauvinism which is polluting the ranks of the white workers of America, to overcome the distrust of the Negro masses caused by the inhuman barbarous Negro slave traffic still carried on by the American bourgeoisie—in as far as it is directed even against all white workers—and to win over to our side these millions of Negroes as active fellow fighters in the struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois power throughout America.



Factory Nuclei



- ◆ 3 The nuclei should participate in all the economic conflicts and demands of the workers. The task of the nuclei is to broaden and deepen the movement, to point out to the workers the political consequences of the struggle, and to persuade them to adopt the wider struggle (both economic and political) and to set up a united front of the workers against the bourgeoisie and against fascism.
- ◆ 4 The nuclei must carry on an obstinate fight in the factories and workshops against the members and followers of other parties, also of the Socialist Parties and other "labour parties," using for this purpose facts relating to the activities of these parties which can be understood even by the most backward section of the working class.
- ◆ 5. They must bring about contact between the employed and unemployed workers in order to avoid a conflict between them.
- ◆ 6 Where conditions are ripe, they must carry on a fight for workers' control of the industries, banks, land and transport, and for the primary needs of life for the workers.
- ◆ 7 They must exert an influence upon the youth and working women employed in the factories, and draw them into the struggle. They must assist in the formation of young Communist nuclei in the factories, and support them wherever they already exist.
- ◆ 8 Every member of a nucleus must actively participate in every kind of

party work in the factory to which he is assigned by the executive committee of the nucleus.

Apart from the special tasks in their factories, the factory nuclei have also to perform territorial tasks at their places of residence, since workers employed in factories also have functions in the places where they reside (housing, food, health, education, elections, etc.).

The chief territorial tasks are as follows.

- ◆ 1 To conduct the political and organisational work of the Party at the place of residence, the carrying on of campaigns of various kinds (electoral, against bad housing, high rents, etc.), to see that the families of workers, clerks, etc., are assured of the primary necessities of life.
- ◆ 2 The distribution of Party literature, the recruiting of new readers and new Party members, agitation, propaganda, individual instruction of non-party workers, educational work in the sub-sections (clubs, etc.), inviting sympathisers to participate in workers' demonstrations, and generally carrying on the working class fight.
- ◆ 3 House to house propaganda in the sub-sections, the collection of information as to the party affiliations of persons residing in the sub-sections, as to political work, and the activity of fascists, keeping records of stores of firearms, etc.

- ◆ 4 Work among women and children. These territorial tasks apply also to the residential nuclei. Their work must be carried on under the direct control of the sub-section committee, and be co-ordinated with the work of the factory nuclei.

ESTABLISHING THE FACTORY NUCLEI

In view of the novelty of this question for many sections of the Communist International, and the varying conditions in different countries, the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposes that the subject should be widely discussed in the Party press and at Party meetings, and then only should the re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei be attempted. Nuclei should first be organised in the larger factories.

The nuclei should in no circumstances be confused with the Communist fractions in the trade unions, co-operatives, etc., whose function cannot be replaced by the nuclei. The functions of the fractions, are narrower than those of the nuclei. The nucleus, or rather, the executive committee of the nucleus, must direct the work of the factory committee fractions in the factory.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International earnestly requests all sections of the Communist International to furnish it with detailed information on the progress of the discussion on the questions here touched upon, and of the results achieved in the organisation in the factories.

THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL - WORLD COMMUNISM

THE ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race.

Communist society will abolish the class division of society simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy of production, it will abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man. Society will no longer consist of antagonistic classes in conflict with each other, but will represent a united commonwealth of labor. For the first time in its history mankind will take its fate into its own hands. Instead of destroying innumerable human lives and incalculable wealth in struggles between classes and nations, mankind will devote all its energy to the struggle against the forces of nature, to the development and strengthening of its own collective might.

After abolishing private ownership in the means of production and converting them into social property, the world system of communism will replace the elemental forces of the world market, of competition and the blind process of social production, by consciously organized and planned production for the purpose of satisfying rapidly growing social needs. With the abolition of competition and anarchy in production, the devastating crises and still more devastating wars will disappear. Instead of colossal waste of productive forces and spasmodic development of society there will be planned utilization of all material resources and painless economic development on the basis of the unlimited, harmonious and rapid development of the productive forces.

The abolition of private property and the disappearance of classes will do away with the exploitation of man by man. Work will cease to be toiling for the benefit of a class enemy. Instead of being merely a means of livelihood it will become a necessity of life. Want and economic inequality, the misery of enslaved classes, and a wretched standard of life generally will disappear, the hierarchy created in the division of labor system will be abolished together with the antagonism between mental and manual labor, and the last vestige of the social inequality of sexes will be removed. At the same time the organs of class domination and the state in the first place, will disappear also. The state, being the embodiment of class domination, will wither away insofar as classes disappear, and with it all measures of coercion will expire.

With the disappearance of classes the monopoly of education in every form will be abolished. Culture will become the acquirement of all and the class ideologies of the past will give place to scientific materialist philosophy. Under such circumstances, the domination of man over man, in any form, becomes impossible, and a great field will be opened for the social selection and the harmonious development of all the talents inherent in humanity.

In communist society no social restrictions will be imposed upon the growth of the forces of production. Private ownership in the means of production, the selfish lust for profits, the arti-

ficial retention of the masses in a state of ignorance, poverty—which retards technical progress in capitalist society—and unproductive expenditures will have no place in a communist society. The most expedient utilization of the forces of nature and of the natural conditions of production in the various parts of the world, the removal of the antagonism between town and country that under capitalism results from the low technical level of agriculture and its systematic lagging behind industry, the closest possible cooperation between science and technique, the utmost encouragement of research work and the practical application of its results on the widest possible social scale, planned organization of scientific work, the application of the most perfect methods of statistical accounting and planned regulation of economy, the rapidly growing social needs, which is the most powerful internal driving force of the whole system—all these will secure the maximum productivity of social labor, which in turn will release human energy for the powerful development of science and art.

The development of the productive forces of world communist society will make it possible to raise the well-being of the whole of humanity and to reduce to a minimum the time devoted to material production and, consequently, will enable culture to flourish as never before in history. This new culture of a humanity that is united for the first time in history, and has abolished all state boundaries, will, unlike capitalist culture, be based upon clear and transparent human relationships. Hence, it will bury forever all mysticism, religion, prejudice and superstition and will give a powerful impetus to the development of all conquering scientific knowledge.

This higher stage of communism, the stage in which communist society has already developed on its own foundation, in which an enormous growth of social productive forces has accompanied the manifold development of man, in which humanity has already inscribed on its banner "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs!"—presupposes, as a preliminary historical condition, a lower stage of development, the stage of socialism. At this lower stage, communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birthmarks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The productive forces of socialism are not yet sufficiently developed to assure a distribution of the products of labor according to needs: these are distributed according to the amount of labor expended. Division of labor, i.e., the system whereby certain groups perform certain labor functions and especially the distinction between mental and manual labor, still exists. Although classes are abolished, traces of the old class division of society, and, consequently, remnants of the proletarian state power, coercion, laws, still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality, which have not yet managed to die out altogether, still remain. The antagonism between town and country has not yet been entirely removed. But none

of these survivals of former society is protected or defended by any social force. Being the product of a definite level of development of productive forces, they will disappear as rapidly as mankind, freed from the fetters of the capitalist system, subjugates the forces of nature, re-educates itself in the spirit of communism, and passes from socialism to complete communism. ★



The ability of communists to promote this unity is a fundamental ideological question. Neither the day to day tasks of propaganda and agitation, or the theoretical tasks must in any way be pitted against each other. Today, however, when any number of immediate and pressing questions face communists every day, questions regarding the correct line and course of action on trade union work, the economic crisis, unemployment, national repression, fascism, the united front, the changing world situation, the danger of war in Europe - to belittle theoretical struggle at such a time represents a fundamental question of ideology and outlook.

Party building, at all times, is an ideological question. It is a struggle to place all forms of class struggle, economic, political, and theoretical, on a firm ideological basis. Our ideology is dialectical historical materialism, the world view of the proletariat. Marxist-Leninist ideology embraces all aspects of the proletariat. Marxist-Leninist ideology embraces all aspects of communist work. Every action, every idea, as Mao points out, is stamped with the brand of its class. The belittling of any aspect of proletarian ideology, even to the slightest degree, only serves to strengthen the dominant aspect of this society, bourgeois ideology.

In the United States, it can hardly be argued that the economic and political class struggles have been belittled. Theoretical work, historically however, has been belittled. That is why it is vital for American communists today to understand the correct relationship between these forms of struggle. The correct emphasis at any given period in the revolution, seizing the key link, the main form of class struggle based on an analysis of the contradictions in any period, represents an ideological question. The failure to pay adequate attention to ideology and theory has marked the attention of the international communist movement for the last twenty-five years.

The Moscow Declaration of 1957 pointed out correctly that "The theory of Marxism-Leninism derives from dialectical materialism. This world outlook reflects the universal law of development of nature, society, and human thinking. Dialectical materialism is countered by metaphysics and idealism. Should the Marxist political party in its examination of questions base itself not on dialectics the result will be one of one-sidedness and subjectivism, stagnation of human thought, isolation from life and loss of ability to make the necessary analysis of things and phenomena, revisionist and dogmatist mistakes of policy."

Further, the Conference of Eighty One Parties in 1960 stated that "ideological issues are of special importance today. Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front, to work to free the people from the shackles of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology. Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the guiding light of the working class and the working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battles for peace, freedom, and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism."

At the time, this polemic was largely directed against the revisionist course charted by Tito, and other similar tendencies which were appearing. Just a few years later, the world was to be provided with another, even starker lesson of the failure to heed this correct line, as the USSR fully consolidated its degenerate revisionist course.

Today, while the United States is on the one hand the bastion of world monopoly capitalism, it is also the cradle of opportunism within the workers movement, and revisionism within the communist movement. Im-

Nowhere more than in America is it the case that the struggle against Imperialism must go hand in hand with perialism provides its all-out support to both reformism and revisionism, seeking to undermine the workers and communist movements from within, with the force of bourgeois ideology. The struggle against right opportunism and modern revisionism. For it is here, as Mao Tse-Tung suggests, that bourgeois ideology is stronger than napalm and bullets. The struggle for the supremacy of Marxist-Leninist ideology must be fought for, at every step of the way.

The supremacy of proletarian ideology involves our attitude toward every single fundamental question of the revolution, toward all forms of class struggle. But this is all the more reason today, when modern revisionism seeks to disarm the communist movement, and reform the workers movement, that special attention must be paid to revolutionary theory. Without theoretical clarity on each of the tasks facing the proletariat, the light shed by Marxist-Leninists will be weak, dull, and unable to guide the working class at each moment in the course of battle.

Theoretical work is key to advancing all economic and political work. The extent to which theoretical clarity is gained on the correct application of Marxism-Leninism to our struggles here today, the extent to which definite lessons are drawn from our own experience and raised to the level of theory, is the extent to which substantial advances will be made in winning the vanguard to the side of communism and winning the masses to the side of the vanguard. The extent that Marxist-Leninists can respond scientifically to the day to day contradictions of capital and labor, is the extent to which we will be able to unite scientific socialism with advanced workers, provide definite leadership to the economic and political struggles of the masses, and unite Marxist-Leninists into a single communist party of a new type.

The ability of communist cadre to unite theoretical and practical tasks into a correct political line in order to unite Marxist-Leninists and lead the masses to fight the class enemy, on all fronts, is a question of whether to practice Marxism or Revisionism. At every turn, party building must be closely linked with the political line and firmly placed on an ideological plane. This is the essence of breaking with modern revisionism today.

MLOC STRATEGY (Cont from p 2)

(II) POLICY FOR PARTY BUILDING AS THE CENTRAL TASK

This policy consists of our four tactical tasks which are based upon the assessment of the MLOC of the im-

important features of the communist and workers movement in this period. At any given turn in our movement, any one of these four tactical tasks can be given special importance, based upon the ebbs and flows of both the objective and subjective factors, but each are carried out in conjunction with each other.

1. TAKING THE THEORETICAL FORM OF CLASS STRUGGLE AS THE MAIN LINK IN THIS PERIOD, AND PROPAGANDA AS THE CHIEF FORM OF PRACTICAL ACTIVITY.

This task guides the entire work of the MLOC, provides direction and focus to all the work that is carried on, and constitutes our main ideological efforts in this period.

A. The development and consolidation of political line on each of the pressing questions of revolution. A line represents the concentrated expression of the interests and demands of the proletariat as a guide to action. A political line requires both a theoretical presentation to advance the objective interests of the working class, as well as designating the political and economic tasks required to carry out the goals advanced by the line. The most important questions of line that we see at this time are the nature of the party itself (particularly programmatically and organizationally), the nature of the United Front, trade union work, the Black National Question, the Chicano National Question, fascism, the world situation.

B. The study and investigation of the objective and subjective factors, the study of current situation, the history of the workers and communist movements, and the history of the international communist movement, and drawing conclusions as a guide to action from this study.

C. The development of proletarian means of propaganda - which includes both inner organizational propaganda, such as study, cadre training, other forms of education, etc, as well as propaganda amongst communists and amongst the masses, which includes the development of the press and other publications, political exposures, polemics, and various means of propagation of Marxism-Leninism.

D. The development of the party program.

2. BOLSHEVIZATION OF THE MLOC

Bolshevization means the ideological victory of Marxism-Leninism over the remnants of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology within our organization, and as it affects all aspects of our work. Bolshevization was first advanced by Comrade Stalin in 1924, in order to combat the right danger, particularly in the manner in which the correct slogan of "to the masses" that was put forward by the Third World Congress of the Comintern was incorrectly taken by various communist parties of the CI, leading to numerous right deviations in many aspects of work. Because Bolshevization is an ideological question, it can also signify the struggle to correct right deviations within a party or organization.

In the struggle to place proletarian ideology firmly in command, we pay special attention in this period to the following:

- train true party cadres, theoretically, organizationally and militarily,
- systematically develop revolutionary discipline,

(Cont. p 23)

Revolution -- Main Trend in World Today

(Delivered on May 27 at a public forum to hail the victories of national liberation struggles in Indochina, and in commemoration of the Fifth Anniversary of the May 20, 1970, statement of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, by the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee)

COMRADES AND FRIENDS,

WE HAIL THE GREAT AND TRIUMPHANT VICTORIES OF THE PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA, LAOS AND VIETNAM, VICTORIES OF HISTORIC, WORLDWIDE SIGNIFICANCE'

THIS IS THE AGE IN WHICH IMPERIALISM IS HEADED FOR TOTAL AND COMPLETE DEFEAT, AND PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY'

The liberation of Vietnam and Cambodia from the yoke of U.S. imperialism, the step by step march taken by the peoples of Indochina against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism over the last 400 years, is a history rich in lessons for the oppressed and exploited of the world.

The struggle by the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence is the most fierce and protracted of all the great national liberation struggles of our times, since World War 2.

Together, the people of Indochina have demonstrated conclusively what Mao Tse-Tung pointed out on May 20, 1970, that

A WEAK NATION CAN DEFEAT A STRONG, A SMALL NATION CAN DEFEAT A BIG. THE PEOPLE OF A SMALL NATION CAN CERTAINLY DEFEAT AGGRESSION BY A BIG COUNTRY, IF ONLY THEY DARE TO RISE IN STRUGGLE, DARE TO TAKE UP ARMS AND GRASP IN THEIR OWN HANDS THE DESTINY OF THEIR COUNTRY. THIS IS THE LAW OF HISTORY.

Comrades and Friends, it is this objective law of history that we are gathered here tonight to celebrate, and to better understand. Our movement against U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism and in support of the national liberation struggles, has taken many tremendous steps in the last fifteen years, defeating all kinds of pessimism, moralism and cynicism, the opportunist lines of the terrorists, the Trotskyites, and the modern revisionists. We have steadily come to realize that there has been one, and only one, organizer for all the victories in Indochina, as well as our own victories, one source of unbreakable conviction that has led the freedom fighters in Indochina over the last thirty years against French colonialism and U.S. imperialism - and that amidst all the incomparable hardships and trials faced by national liberation struggles the world over, whether they be in Palestine, Dhofar, Mozambique or Zimbabwe, there is one light which has shed a brilliant clarity on the seeming chaos and disorder. That is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, our only guide to action.

The events of the last few months have provided us with vivid examples

of the correctness of the line of the Chinese Communist Party that the entire world is in a state of great disorder and great turbulence. "Great disorder under heaven", as our Chinese comrades put it. Great trials and realignment of forces have taken place in the last few years. Look comrades to the map of Asia or Africa. Look to the dramatic changes in the role of the United Nations. The deterioration of the dollar and gold standard. The tremendous upsurge in the workers' movement in the capitalist countries. And of great importance for us, the recognition today - here in the very heartland of imperialism - for the need to build a genuine communist party of a new type.

This is an earth-shaking era we live in, an era of global upheaval!

To some, this is a period of confusion and disarray. This reflects one class outlook. But to the large masses of exploited and oppressed people of the world, this great disorder on earth is a good thing. We are living in an age in which four hundred years of the rule of capitalism is decaying before our very eyes. This is the age in which COUNTRIES ARE FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS ARE FIGHTING FOR LIBERATION, AND THE PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION! REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY! Who but the most reactionary rulers of the U.S. or the Soviet Union denies this today?

The great disorder on earth reflects the sharpening of all the four basic contradictions in the world:

- (1) the contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and the imperialist and social imperialist nations on the other hand,
- (2) the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries,
- (3) the contradiction between the imperialist and social imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries,
- (4) the contradiction between the socialist countries on the one hand and the imperialist and social imperialist countries on the other hand.

But which of these contradictions is principal? Which one pushes all the others forward? Comrades and Friends, Indochina provides the clearest of all possible answers to this question. It is the contradiction between the oppressed nations of the world and imperialism and social imperialism which is the main contradiction in the world today - the contradiction which is pushing history forward. This contradiction, as Lenin said, "is the essence of imperialism".

The revolutionary storm sweeping Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East signals confusion and division among the enemies of the people, while it is a great source of inspiration and tempering for the people of the exploited and oppressed nations of the world.

The awakening of the Third World is an event of great historic importance. After World War 2, with the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the emergence of Soviet social imperialism, the socialist camp no longer existed by the early sixties. At the

same time, we can see the disintegration of the capitalist camp, as revealed by the growing rivalry amongst the capitalist countries. Today, there are three worlds which are inter-connected, and in contradiction with each other.

First, we have the U.S. and U.S.S.R., the two superpowers. Second, we have the remaining developed capitalist countries. Third, the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and other parts of the world.

Cambodia and Vietnam are so important because they reveal dramatically that it is the Third World which is determining the course of world history. It is the Third World which is strong strategically, while it is imperialism and social imperialism which are weak.

That is why we say that imperialism is a paper tiger. From the long term point of view, the view of protracted revolutionary struggle, from the point of view of the objective laws of history, imperialism is headed for total and complete defeat. This is the essence of the question.

In appearance, however, it is another case. On the surface U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism are living tigers, iron tigers, tigers

of death and destruction, as we have seen in Indochina, Africa and other places. Tactically, this must not be underestimated. No one amongst us will ever forget the barbaric damage committed against the people, culture and land of Indochina, "to win the hearts and minds of the people". We do not forget the Air Force Chief of Staff, Curtis LeMay, who said in 1964, "we're going to bomb them back to the stone age". Or Lyndon Johnson, who told U.S. soldiers at Cam Ranh Bay in 1964, "Come home with the coonskin on the wall". Or the American officer after TET who explained matter-of-factly, "we had to destroy it in order to save it".

And certainly, we will never forget the millions of our comrades in arms who have sacrificed their lives, the lives of countless families, the separation of families, in the heroic, protracted struggle against imperialism. The many millions wounded or maimed. This great courage, heroism and sacrifice, is an historic example to the people of the world. Their memory will always burn in our hearts. Theirs is the infinite example.

No road to revolution has been more tortuous, more protracted than in Vietnam. Not forced urbanization, Vietnamization, the Phoenix Campaign, defoliation, carpet bombing and much more, could deter our Vietnamese comrades in arms.

This determination comes from one source. This unswerving dedication in the face of untold hardships and suffering stems from one fountainhead. That is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought. As Lenin pointed out,

Marxism provides the clue which enables us to discover the laws governing this seeming labyrinth of chaos, namely, the theory of class struggle.

Revolution

The history of all society is the history of class struggle. Only by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought as our guide and grasping class struggle as the key link, can we maintain, in the face of great chaos and turmoil all around us, clarity of vision and absolute confidence in the victory of our cause.

The people of Indochina, with the leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party, have provided the people of the world with a historic lesson as to the truth of this proposition. *Ho Chi Minh, the great and beloved leader of the Vietnamese people, compared the Vietnamese Workers Party to a generator and the affairs of the resistance and national construction to electric lights, the more powerful the generator, the brighter the lights.*

This is the most important lesson for Marxist-Leninists to learn from the victories in Indochina. That the source behind all the victories of the people of Indochina, the formation of the Viet Minh, the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the victory at Dien Bien Phu, the founding of the National Liberation Front, the TET offensive, the founding of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the Paris Peace Accords, the liberation of Cambodia on April 18, the liberation of Vietnam on April 30, the triumphs in Laos, as well as the path ahead in establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, all point to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought applied to the concrete conditions in Indochina, as the organizer of all our victories.

Returning to Ho Chi Minh again, we realize that he, clearer than anybody else in Indochina, understood this universal truth. And he did not hesitate to make this point very clear.

Step by step in the course of the struggle, combining theoretical Marxist-Leninist studies with practical activities, I gradually understood that only socialism, only communism, can liberate the oppressed peoples and toiling masses of the world.

This is the universal truth contained in the revolutionary experience in Vietnam, and all other national liberation struggles.

In order to celebrate and confirm this truth for Marxist-Leninists and progressive people here in the U.S., let us just briefly trace some of the most important steps in the struggle in Indochina.

The peoples of Indochina have a great and rich history. The nations of Annam (Vietnam), Laos and Cambodia have existed since the dawn of time. Great achievements have marked the history of these people, such as Angkor Wat, systems of irrigation and canals, and many other glorious accomplishments.

The development and growth of modern capitalism is the history of plunder on a worldwide basis. In 1662, the first French missionaries arrived in Indochina, accompanied by traders from Europe seeking the riches of ivory, spices, gold and silver from the East. As the European colonial expansion of the 17th and 18th centuries increased, the resistance of the people in Indochina, as elsewhere in the world, began to emerge. Under the guise of protecting French missionaries from "persecution", the French sent military and naval forces in 1857. Outright French colonialization in Indo-

china began. First Vietnam was secured militarily, then Cambodia and Laos.

Sometimes organized, but mostly spontaneous resistance developed throughout Indochina to French colonial rule throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the mid 19th century the people of Asia began to awaken politically, and a revolutionary tide against colonialism and feudalism spread from the Middle East to China. Great storms opened up in Persia, India and China. Marx and Engels hailed these stirrings as the "opening day of a new era for all Asia."

The revolutionary storms in Asia prior to World War I were democratic revolutions led by the bourgeoisie. These were old democratic revolutions, where the bourgeoisie still played the leading role, because the proletariat had not yet assumed leadership.



But since the October revolution, a new stage erupted on a worldwide scale. For the first time in history, the working class began to assume its rightful role, it entered history as a class conscious of itself and its historical destiny. From that point on in

Asia, as worldwide, the struggles of the oppressed people of the world have assumed a new character, they have become struggles for a new kind of democracy, not led by the bourgeoisie, but led by the proletariat. That is, new democratic revolutions became the order of the day. *Under imperialism, the national question becomes one of overall worldwide importance, in which the entire fate of proletarian revolution hinges upon the struggle of the people of the oppressed nations for self-determination.*

Lenin thus predicted that Asia would become a "new source of great world storms." In 1913 Lenin even suggested, what might have seemed inconceivable to many at the time, that it was Europe which was backward, and Asia that was advanced. How prophetic have become these observations by Lenin.

In Indochina, the triumph of the October Revolution had its influence, as it did worldwide. Even prior to the October Revolution, Ho Chi Minh, stirred by the deep desire to find a revolutionary road to liberate his country, journeyed to France, where he began to study Marxism. Stirred by his deep patriotic sentiments, Marxism-Leninism was taken up by Ho Chi Minh as the only path toward the emancipation of his people. Here, as elsewhere, impressed with Lenin's doctrine on the national and colonial question, Ho Chi Minh began to formulate the necessity for a new democratic revolution in Vietnam, and the need for a genuine communist party to lead the people of Vietnam to victory against French colonialism, toward socialist revolution - but without passing through the stage of capitalist development. At a very early point, Ho Chi Minh grasped firmly that Vietnam was part of the worldwide revolutionary storm, and that Marxism-Leninism must be applied to the concrete conditions in his own country. This meant one thing, that a communist party must be formed.

In 1930, with the merging of the three existing parties into a single VIET NAM COMMUNIST PARTY, the struggles of the Indochinese people entered a qualitatively new stage. Based upon a concrete assessment of the conditions

of French colonialism, the need for an alliance of the peasants and workers under the leadership of the working class, and the international experience of the proletariat, Ho Chi Minh successfully applied the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the nature of the communist party, and found them to be the only solution to advancing the struggle for national liberation.

The task then before the people of Indochina was how to rally the broad masses of peasants and workers to support the struggle for national liberation. Here again, based upon the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Vietnam Communist Party formed the Viet Minh in 1941. Upholding the vanguard role of the Party, the Viet Minh was a broad democratic peoples front to win over all the revolutionary forces that could be united, and spearhead the assault against the French and Japanese fascists. Again, correctly analyzing the nature of the struggle as a new democratic revolution, the Viet Minh was organized by the Party to pursue national salvation. The establishment of the Viet Minh by the Vietnam Communist Party was a clear example of how the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism were applied to the practical problems of revolution, and a correct solution was found.

Through many trials and obstacles, Ho Chi Minh led the Vietnamese people painstakingly toward their first victory in the August revolution of 1945 - against French, then Japanese, and again against French colonialism. On September 2, 1945, then President Ho Chi Minh read the Declaration of Independence at Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi, by which the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam was founded - the first peoples democratic state in all of Southeast Asia.

The founding of the DRV marked an historic turn for the people of Indochina, and made a most important contribution to the struggle of all exploited and oppressed people - for the system of colonial oppression had been broken at its weakest link - contributing to the worldwide process of disintegration and decay of colonialism and imperialism. As Ho Chi Minh stated, "It was a great victory of the Vietnamese people, and also the first victory of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial country."

Truly Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East are the weakest link in the imperialist chain, and the great storm centers of world revolution. Vietnam was the first concrete indication of Lenin's observation many years prior. *Vietnam proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that it is the working class, and only the working class, that can lead the colonial people of the world to victory, a victory which must be built upon the alliance of the peasants and workers, but led by the working class.*

In 1949, the triumph of the Chinese Revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China tipped the world balance of power in favor of the revolutionary forces, and linked the Vietnamese revolution solidly with the socialist camp. The militant proletarian internationalism of the Chinese people led by the Chinese Communist Party provided an important stone in the foundation which led to the Indochinese people's victory.

The road to socialist construction in the DRV has been hampered for thirty years by the unceasing efforts of the French and U.S. imperialists. Yet,

(Cont. p 22)

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from that point on, even though faced with great obstacles, through both the first and second Indochinese wars, victories have resulted from the persistent struggle to apply the universal teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought to the concrete conditions of Vietnam.

Even with the founding of the People's Liberation Army, it was apparent that politics was to be put in command at every turn. The army was thought of first and foremost as a propaganda unit, not simply a military arm. Throughout the war, each military advance can be explained by putting politics in command. Early in the liberation struggle, Ho Chi Minh grasped the importance of self reliance, urging his people to "use guns and swords if we have them, and if these are lacking, let us use picks, hoes and sticks as weapons, let everyone do his utmost to fight the colonialists and save the country!"

While the French, and the Americans after them, had the powerful weapons of steel and iron, it was the Vietnamese who had the greater weapon, the power of the masses awakened to the struggle for national liberation.

Ho Chi Minh realized, based upon the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin before him, applied to the problems of people's war in Indochina, that *"a revolution cannot be made by a single person, a large force is needed, the entire people must take part, only when the root is firm, can the tree live long, and victory is built with the people as foundation."*

At Dien Bien Phu, for the first time in the history of the world, a small and weak colonized country defeated a large colonial power. As Engels had pointed out long ago, "men and not muskets, must win battles."

On July 20, 1954, the Geneva Conference on Indochina ended, the French had been forced to surrender, and elections were scheduled soon in Vietnam. As we know, the U.S. Imperialists - who had paid 80% of the French bill in Indochina, never intended to keep this agreement, and the second war in Indochina began to take shape.

By the late 1950's it became obvious to all in Vietnam that U.S. imperialism was bent upon preventing at all costs the reunification of Vietnam.

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. The people of South Vietnam had no other choice but to take up arms. Beginning in 1960, uprisings occurred throughout South Vietnam. In December 20, 1960 the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation was formed.

The NLF, based upon the lessons learned from the Viet Minh, set out to unite the patriotic and democratic people of South Vietnam against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism and its comprador agents in South Vietnam. The united front that has been built in South Vietnam over the last 15 years is a direct application of Lenin's and Mao Tse-Tung's analysis of imperialism applied to the particular conditions in Vietnam.

Guided by the concrete analysis of concrete conditions at every turn, many victories for the revolution preceded liberation, including the TET offensive in 1968, and the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government on June 10, 1969. The PRG has administrated the liberated areas of South Vietnam for the last six years, and is a coalition of the NLF and the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces. The PRG had begun to lay a foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat

The signing of the Paris Peace Accords by the fascist Thieu regime and U.S. imperialism was another dramatic defeat for imperialism in Indochina, directly leading to the liberation of all of South Vietnam on April 30, 1975, when the gold starred red and blue flag of the PRG was hoisted over the phony presidential palace in Saigon - now triumphantly known as Ho Chi Minh City.

As we pointed out earlier, the revolutionary road in Vietnam over the last 30 years has been extremely tortuous, requiring at every turn a scientific evaluation of the tasks at hand and the complete mobilization of all progressive and revolutionary forces in order to guarantee victory. In Vietnam, as in every other country, we can be sure that there have been many struggles over the correct path to follow at critical moments. Should the army put politics in command at every turn? Should a united front be formed? Should we attack Saigon in 1968? What is our attitude toward the American people? These and many other questions must have arisen. Looking back, we can now see that at every critical point, the correct road to take was pointed out guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought and thus victory was assured.

In Cambodia, as in Laos, the same basic history exists.

In Cambodia, after hundreds of years of anti-colonial struggle, the Cambodian people finally achieved independence - in 1953 after a prolonged period of armed struggle.

From that point on, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk summed up prophetically the course of his country:

"What seemed to me the end of a long and painful tunnel turned out to be only the end of one phase of a struggle infinitely more complex than neither myself or my ancestors could have imagined when the first colonial power offered its protection over a century ago.

When I had the sad distinction of taking my place as an honor guard at the bier of the late President Ho Chi Minh, I thought how true is his phrase, 'Nothing is more precious than independence.' He was a life long revolutionary of humble origins, I am an aristocrat from a long line of monarchs. He was of another generation, thirty years my senior. But we had one thing in common, unswerving devotion to our country's independence. He chose the stern revolutionary road, a course which appalled me when I was young and thought of the blood that would be shed.

In the end it was the Americans who drove home the bitter lesson that imperialists leave only one road to freedom, once they have marked a country down as their prey, that is the road of armed struggle as defined by Ho Chi Minh."

The road of armed struggle and the united front was charted for the Cambodian people by the Khmer Communist Party. It was the protracted guerrilla warfare combined with uniting all sections of the masses against the colonialists - under the leadership of the Party - that finally forced the French to grant independence on November 9, 1953.

In the following years, Sihanouk attempted to stir a course of independence and national sovereignty for Cambodia, but was undermined by the CIA at many points. By 1970, U.S. imperialism had begun to sink into the swamp of people's war, and the U.S. CIA engineered a coup against Cambodia in March, installing its puppets Lon Nol and Sirik Matik. Immediately afterwards, recalling the previous lessons for national liberation against the

French, a call was issued for the formation of the ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION OF CAMBODIA (RGNUC), to unite the entire Cambodian people, the NATIONAL UNITED FRONT OF CAMBODIA (NUFC), to unite all those that can be united against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, Lon Nol and Sirik Matik, and the CAMBODIAN PEOPLE'S NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMED FORCES (CPNLF) to lead the armed struggle. Soon afterwards, on April 30, 1970, the U.S. directly invaded the Parrots Beak area of Cambodia with the welcome of Lon Nol, under the pretext of going after the "North Vietnamese regular troops". If comrades remember the news reports from that time, the North Vietnamese were not to be found. The real reason for the military adventure was to attack the patriotic Cambodian armed forces in order to shore up Lon Nol.

The intense people's warfare of the Cambodian masses against the foreign invaders and their agents resulted in the liberation of 2/3 of the country in the first year of fighting. Waging both a political and a military campaign, uniting the proletariat with the peasants, steady advances were gained. By the end of 1973, Phnom Penh was a virtual island, culminating in the complete liberation of Phnom Penh on April 18th, just five years after the U.S. manufactured coup.

In the last few months, our Cambodian and Vietnamese comrades have delivered crushing blows both to U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. In Laos, as well, victory surely cannot be far away. U.S. military and economic "aid" has sought to administer Laos as a puppet state for many years now. Faced with the secret war that has been conducted against Laos, the PATHET LAO and the LAOTIAN POPULAR FRONT (LPF) have advanced steadily on the military front in the countryside, liberating vast areas, and on the political front in the capital, Vientiane. Already, the U.S. agents are pulling out and the Pathet Lao has control over the government of Laos. As in Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos provides another example of the truth that A SMALL NATION CAN DEFEAT A BIG NATION, when guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

One of the most important aspects of the recent victories has been the strategic location of Indochina - a prime base for competition between both superpowers for hegemony in Asia and the Indian Ocean. As a result, Soviet social imperialism has colluded and contended with U.S. imperialism in Asia, particularly in Cambodia and Vietnam.

Because of the persistent self-reliance of the Cambodian liberation forces, and the principled application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought in their own country, the Cambodian people earned the wrath of both great superpowers. While the U.S. did all that it could militarily to defeat the Cambodian liberation forces, colluding with the U.S., the Soviet social imperialists carried out a treacherous campaign to support the traitorous Lon Nol regime and thwart the RGNUC. During this period the U.S.S.R.

- maintained diplomatic relations with Lon Nol,
- assisted the U.S. in keeping the RGNUC out of the U.N.,
- ordered their lackey parties in many countries, such as the CPUSA here, not to support demonstrations against the war in Cambodia, and to lie and distort the Cambodian struggle in their press,
- supported and pushed the U.S. plans for negotiations with Lon Nol.

While the history of the Soviet social imperialists' treachery with the

Revolution

Democratic Republic of Vietnam is less known, it must be recounted here

In 1965, after the massive U S military involvement, Krushchov - right before his fall - put forward the line that to provide arms to the North Vietnamese would injure the Soviet plan for detente. It was only after the Chinese and others exposed this line for what it was - to objectively stand with the imperialists - that the Soviets were forced by the Soviet masses, together with opinion all over the world, to sell arms to the DRV

Here we stress that this machinery, every weapon, has been sold to the DRV with interest charged on delayed payment

Now that victory has been achieved in Indochina, we no doubt will begin to learn more of the actual role of the Soviet Union in the last few years. Though the complete story is not known, we know enough to be certain that the USSR, whether in Indochina, Africa or Latin America - and clearly in the Middle East, has no intention of supporting national liberation struggles because that is the principled thing to do - but only insofar as this 'support' serves the social imperialist interests of the new czars. The USSR, since the restoration of capitalism, joins the U S as one of the world's two superpowers, "an imperialist country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control, subversion or plunder and strives for world hegemony"

Even though the two superpowers continue to contend worldwide, even though the threat of world war is great, revolution is the main trend in the world today

Today VIETNAM IS ONE! CAMBODIA IS ONE! VICTORY IS CERTAIN IN LAOS. The peoples of these three countries, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, have set about the historic task of developing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, as has already been achieved in North Vietnam, China and Albania. We can now look forward to a period in which all of Indochina will be rebuilt ten times more beautiful, as Ho Chi Minh said of Vietnam

For thirty years now imperialism has thought that they could use Indochina for their own global ambitions, to encircle the emerging socialist countries, to suppress the national liberation struggles of all of South East Asia, and as a base more recently to contend with Soviet social imperialism for hegemony in Asia. Imperialism believed that the defeat of the national liberation struggles in Indochina would serve as a stern warning to people in other parts of the world. Well, friends and comrades, just the opposite has come to be. Today all the people of the world look to Indochina as the example of how a small nation can defeat a big nation

In closing this presentation, we would take an opportunity and try to sum up some of the most important lessons to be drawn from our recent victories. For a true victory celebration must at the same time lay the basis for even greater struggles ahead and still greater victories

FIRST, Indochina lays bare for all to see the basic laws of motion of im-

perialism at work

IMPERIALISM IS CAPITALISM IN THAT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT IN WHICH THE DOMINANCE OF MONOPOLIES AND FINANCE CAPITAL HAS ESTABLISHED ITSELF, IN WHICH THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL HAS ACQUIRED PRONOUNCED IMPORTANCE, IN WHICH THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD AMONG THE INTERNATIONAL TRUSTS HAS BEGUN, IN WHICH THE DIVISION OF ALL TERRITORIES OF THE GLOBE AMONG THE BIGGEST CAPITALIST POWERS HAS BEEN COMPLETED

This is the age of imperialism that Lenin explained in IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM. These are the basic laws of motion behind the continued and persistent efforts, first by the French and then the U S, to capture Indochina for its ends of global domination

However, at the same time, Lenin pointed out that imperialism is not only monopoly capitalism, it is parasitic, or decaying capitalism, and it is moribund capitalism. The decaying and parasitic nature of imperialism is today more fully exposed than any other time. Everywhere, comrades, politically, economically and culturally, imperialism is disintegrating, it is becoming more isolated, is becoming more vulnerable

But moribund capitalism is not dead capitalism. Everywhere possible, U S imperialism and Soviet social imperialism contend for influence. Everywhere the contradictions sharpen

As the contradictions sharpen, either war will give way to revolution, or revolution will give way to war. Comrades, make no mistake about it, with every passing day the possibility of war, of world war, becomes every bit more possible, as the two great superpowers intensify their struggle over the remaining crumbs. The historical victories in Indochina are a great stride forward for the world's proletariat, even a turning point, but they are not the final strides - by any means. *Be vigilant, get prepared for war. Get prepared*

As the great Lenin foresaw, the revolutionary storms in the East will have repercussions on Europe, and provide a great impetus to proletarian revolution in the monopoly capitalist countries. We have yet to feel many of these repercussions. The current economic crisis is just one aspect of an even greater crisis to come. That the days of imperialism are numbered, there can be no doubt, but the last days are most likely to be the most ferocious, the most tortuous, the most demanding. The old world is being torn asunder, a new world is being born. The pains of birth are likely to be sharp

SECOND, we must realize firmly that, as Lenin pointed out, "The fight against imperialism is sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." If anything, the victories in Indochina are victories both against imperialism and opportunism - particularly the opportunism of the social imperialists, who preach revolution in words, but practice imperialism in deeds. As the crumbs remaining from imperialism's superprofits begin to dry up - as the superprofits dry up - we must be vigilant, for imperialism will double its efforts to deceive and mislead the workers' movement. Social imperialism is today, and will be tomorrow an even

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greater danger than in the past. Here, friends and comrades, we are not only talking about the USSR, but about those within the U S who deny the historic role to the national liberation struggles - which in essence is to deny the nature of imperialism itself. Who denies the right of nations to self-determination, up to and including secession? Here we are talking about those who deny the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, who deny that the USSR is a social imperialist country. Here we are talking of those who deny that there are three worlds, and that it is the struggle of the Third World which is today determining the course of world history

Comrades and friends, it is our duty, it is a question of proletarian internationalism, to oppose all national oppression, to take a firm stand for national equality, uphold the right of self-determination of the oppressed nations of the colonial and dependent countries, and fully support the national liberation movement against imperialism

In particular, now, we must give concrete support to, and demand the immediate recognition by, the U S government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of South Vietnam and the People's Republic of Cambodia

THIRD, and last, we must draw one basic conclusion from the struggle against both imperialism and opportunism. In this struggle, IT IS THE GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY OF A NEW TYPE, GUIDED BY MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT WHICH IS THE ORGANIZER OF ALL OUR VICTORIES

Whether it be in the rice paddies of Indochina, the mountains of Latin America, the deserts of Palestine, the factories of Detroit, whether we live in a colonially oppressed nation or in the heart of imperialism - here in the U S, whether we are young or old, no matter what nationality, there is only one organizer for victory

one advanced detachment of the working class,
one organized detachment of the working class,
one instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat,
one general staff,

which possesses the unity of will and unity of action, the correct revolutionary theory, together with the program, tactics and organization which can lead the exploited and oppressed people of the world forward, out of the darkness and decay of imperialism, into the bright red future of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism. This is the Communist Party of a New Type

This is the lesson of Vietnam and Cambodia. This is the road to independence and freedom

**HAIL THE VIETNAMESE WORKERS' PARTY!
LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE
PEOPLE OF THE U S AND THE OPPRESSED
PEOPLE OF THE WORLD!
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!**



MLOC STRATEGY (Cont from p 19)

- consciously deepen comrades grasp of the State,
- develop both legal and illegal work, realizing that we have failed to adequately understand the importance of illegal work in the past,
- consciously prepare our cadre for a war time basis, cadre that are capable and confident of working for the revolution even in conditions of

the most ferocious reaction,

- develop an organizational network which is as dense and as closely woven together as possible,
- encourage and develop communist criticism and self-criticism, combating boasting, self-satisfaction, and the arrogance that reeks of a superpower mentality,
- build an organization, and a communist party, which is an organiza-

tion of leaders, all who combine revolutionary sweep with practicalness

3. TASKS WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT UNITING MARXIST-LENINISTS

As the crisis and decay of monopoly capitalism deepens, the bourgeoisie will intensify its efforts to split and divide the communist movement through both underhanded subversion and

MLOC STRATEGY (Cont p 24)

AFRICA VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

The revolutionary and progressive people of the world hail the historic independence victories won recently in Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome, Principe, Mozambique and Angola. These victories represent not only great strides for the people of Africa but all exploited and oppressed people of the world. They reflect the inevitable truth that a small nation can defeat a big, that armed struggle is the only course toward emancipation, and that it is the masses, and the masses alone, who are the makers of history.

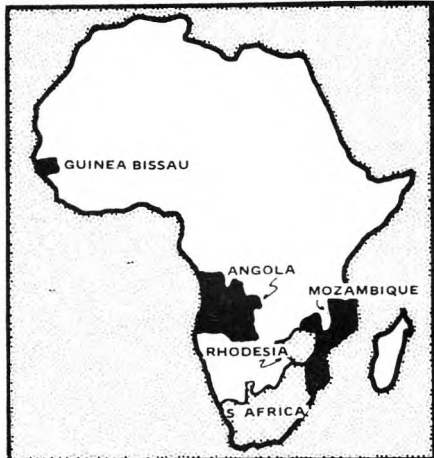
The struggle of the African people is today advancing step after step in combat against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The independent states of Africa together with the courageous national liberation struggles being waged in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania, Trithrea and other places, are dealing steady blows both to U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism in their doomed efforts to seek hegemony on the African continent. The Smith-Vorster politics of "dialogue and detente" in southern Africa is being exposed at every turn.

The national liberation struggles in the former Portuguese colonies come after five hundred years of the most brutal, savage oppression and exploitation. During this period over fifty million slaves were forcibly taken from Africa, and the continent's rich natural resources have been pillaged. These hundreds of years of oppression have been met with a history of glorious resistance - a history that we know little about today, because it has not been told by the exploiters.

Since the second imperialist war, this history has become clearer and clearer to us, as the map of Africa has changed dramatically. Prior to World War 2, there were only four independent nations in Africa (Libya, Liberia, Egypt and Ethiopia); now there are over 40, which cover 80% of the African continent and include 90% of Africa's 350 million people. The chauvinist mythology that Africa

is a "dark continent" has been smashed. Africa today is a bright example to the people of the entire world that relentless armed struggle is the only road forward.

Africa reflects the sharpening of all the contradictions in the world, particularly that between the oppressed nations and U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, and between the two superpowers and the secondary capitalist countries, such as Portugal, resulting in the crumbling of the fascist Caetano regime and the resulting class struggle in Portugal, forcing Portugal to nego-



BEFORE PATRICE LUMUMBA WAS MURDERED BY THE AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM IN JANUARY, 1960, HE WROTE TO HIS WIFE

"NEITHER BRUTALITY, NOR CRUELTY NOR TORTURE WILL EVER BRING ME TO ASK FOR MERCY, FOR I PREFER TO DIE WITH MY HEAD UNBOWED, MY FAITH UNSHAKEABLE AND WITH PROFOUND TRUST IN THE DESTINY OF MY COUNTRY, RATHER THAN LIVE UNDER SUBJECTION AND DISREGARDING SACRED PRINCIPLES. HISTORY WILL ONE DAY HAVE ITS SAY, BUT IT WILL NOT BE THE HISTORY WHICH WILL BE TAUGHT IN BRUSSELS, BUT THE HISTORY WHICH WILL BE TAUGHT IN THE COUNTRIES FREED FROM IMPERIALISM AND ITS PUPPETS. AFRICA WILL WRITE HER OWN HISTORY, AND TO THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH OF THE SAHARA IT WILL BE A GLORIOUS AND DIGNIFIED HISTORY. PATRICE"

trate withdrawals from the colonies.

Since World War 2, Africa has been moving toward unity. With the founding of the Organization of African Unity on May 25, 1963, one of its first acts was to adopt May 25th as African Liberation Day. This date has become an international day of solidarity with the national liberation struggles of the African people. This act of solidarity has begun to take roots here in the United States, but it remains the task for Marxist-Leninists to provide clear and decisive leadership to rally the entire multinational working class in the just cause of solidarity with the African people. This solidarity cannot be built on morality or narrow Black nationalism, but must be built on proletarian internationalism. It must destroy all vestiges of white chauvinism within our ranks. It must lend its concrete support to the national liberation struggles still raging, and to the independent states of Africa's fight against neo-colonialism and against all attempts at superpower interference. And, it must correctly relate the national liberation struggles in Africa to the struggle of the Afro-American people in the United States for the right of self-determination up to and including secession.

The glorious victories in Africa recently become a signal to all Marxist-Leninists to intensify our concrete support to African liberation struggles and to smash all opportunist lines within the American working class and communist movements regarding the struggles of the African people.

LONG LIVE THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF CAPE VERDE, GUINEA BISSAU, MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA!

LONG LIVE THE MILITANT SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE AFRICAN AND AMERICAN PEOPLE!

VICTORY IN AFRICA IS CERTAIN!

MLOC STRATEGY (Cont. from p. 23)

open suppression. For these and other reasons, comrades must place the struggle for the party on a much more conscious, more determined level than it has been.

A. Develop and persevere in a Bolshevik policy for building unity among Marxist-Leninists. Carefully distinguish and recognize the two different kinds of contradictions, recognizing the principled basis for unity on many questions, and that the material basis for unity is greater than for disunity. Unity must be concrete and material, not abstract or only theoretical. Unity must be built from the standpoint of honesty, self-criticism and comradely criticism.

B. Promote joint actions among Marxist-Leninists in regard to particular struggles, propaganda work, theoretical work, agitation, etc.

C. Move toward a regular, even weekly or daily, Communist press.

D. Greatly extend the propaganda work on the theoretical front.

4. TASKS WITHIN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT: WINNING THE VANGUARD TO THE SIDE OF COMMUNISM.

Our work amongst the masses, concentrating where possible in heavy industry, must reflect the central task at this time. In this sense, our work to win the vanguard to the side of communism is protracted. At the same time, however, work amongst the masses must reflect the primary focus of the work of party building at this time, which is the theoretical form of class struggle.

A. Raising in the course of day to day struggles against capital, all the problems of trade union work to their proper ideological and theoretical level. This means that in the daily work, special attention must be paid to meet the future demands of the movement, while at the same time winning the immediate demands with communist leadership.

B. Patiently and systematically uniting scientific socialism with advanced workers. The use of the term "uniting" implies our view of the advanced worker. This worker has a sense of their class interest, and the unity of this interest with the

struggle of oppressed nationalities and minorities. They are active in fighting for the interests of their class, and already realize the need for fundamental change, though they may not call it revolutionary change. They are searching for a scientific understanding of their exploitation and oppression, and for a clear answer as to the solution. In other words, they are open to communism, and do not have anti-communist opinions. That is why it is a question of uniting scientific socialism with such workers, it needs to be brought to them, they do not need to be convinced, for the most part.

C. Maintaining close contact and struggle with the entire working class, intermediate and backward workers, though necessarily we focus attention on the advanced worker.

D. Building factory nuclei as the basic form of organization within the working class, and the basic link between the party and the masses.

Factory nuclei are the ground for all organizational work of the MLOC. (See Comintern Resolution on Factory Nuclei, p. 11).

E. Development of propaganda and the communist press, with focus on political exposures.

"BEFORE WE CAN UNITE, AND IN ORDER THAT WE MAY UNITE, WE MUST FIRST OF ALL DRAW FIRM AND DEFINITE LINES OF DEMARCATION" (Lenin, CW, vol. 4, p. 354).

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